

L E T T E R S
CONCERNING THE
SPANISH NATION:

Written at M A D R I D during the Years 1760 and 1761.

By the Rev. EDWARD CLARKE, M. A.
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PEPPERHARROWE, in the County of SURRY.

Quantos payzes, tantos costumbres.



L O N D O N :
Printed for T. BECKET and P. A. DE HONDT, at Tully's Head.
in the Strand. MDCCLXIII.

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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
GEORGE BRODRICK,
LORD VISCOUNT MIDLETON,
OF THE
KINGDOM OF IRELAND;
THESE LETTERS CONCERNING
THE SPANISH NATION
ARE INSCRIBED,
WITH THE SINCEREST RESPECT
AND GRATITUDE,
BY HIS LORDSHIP'S
MOST OBLIGED,
AND OBEDIENT
HUMBLE SERVANT,
EDWARD CLARKE.

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P R E F A C E.

THE compiler of the following papers having had the honour to attend his Excellency the right honourable GEORGE WILLIAM, Earl of BRISTOL, his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of MADRID, in quality of chaplain, for near two years; he made it his business, during his stay there, to collect such informations, hints, and materials relative to the present state of SPAIN, as might either gratify the curiosity of his friends, or prove of some utility to the public in general.

FOR this hath ever appeared to him to be the true and proper design of *Travelling*, to bring back such notices of foreign countries, as may correct any prejudices and errors we have entertained concerning them; such as may improve our present opinions, and contribute to form a just idea of different nations. This employment may be more useful, though, perhaps, not so flattering to the imagination, as that of reading *Virgil* upon the banks of the *Mincio*, *Horace* upon the *Aufidus*, or *Homer* upon the *Scamander*. Writers of authentic accounts of countries, though beneath the attention of elegant genius, and not rising to the higher claims of taste and *virtù*, may notwithstanding be more serviceable to the public, than the purchaser of a decayed *Titian*, the recoverer of a rusty *coin*, the copier of a defaced *inscription*, or the designer of an old *ruin*.

IT is, perhaps, to be wished, that the generality of our young travellers would give more of their attention this way; the subject is not exhausted, and the object is of much greater moment, than the dresses of one country, or the tunes of another; than

the vineyards of this province, or the kitchens of that. To observe the variation of manners, the force of customs, the utility of laws, or the effects of climate, renders a much more essential service to your country, than to set a new fashion, teach a new air, or give a new dish.

THE writer, apprehending that his stay in SPAIN would have been of much longer duration, had formed his original plan of a much larger extent, than that which is now laid before the public: but as the war, which unfortunately broke out between the two courts, prevented his prosecuting that more extensive design, the reader will, he hopes, charitably place this defect to the account of that unforeseen event, and not to any want of intention or industry in the writer.

HE is very sensible of the many imperfections and defects of this performance, and is convinced, that it stands in need of all the apologies he is capable of making for it. The reader owes the perusal of it not to the writer's own sentiment or opinion, but to the determination of abler judges, who conceived, that with all its errors it might be of use to the public, as relating to a country, the accounts of which now extant among us are more apt to mislead, than to inform.

THE following papers would have been much less superficial and jejune, if the country, in which they were collected, had been half so *communicative* as that in which they are published. In SPAIN, the want of that general education and knowledge, which is so universally diffused throughout this island, renders the progress of all enquiry very slow and difficult: the reserved temper and genius of the Spaniards makes it still more embarrassed; but the caution they use, and the suspicions they entertain with regard to hereticks, especially priests, are generally sufficient to damp the most industrious and inquisitive researcher. Add to this that invincible obstacle to all free enquiry in catholic countries, *the inquisition*, and then it is apprehended that the reader will not wonder, that he finds so little entertainment and information in the following letters.

BUT

BUT this is not all; besides the difficulties a foreigner meets with in the dominions of his catholic majesty, *that* of the language is not the least. FRENCH and ITALIAN are now become so very fashionable and common among us, that most of our young travellers set out with the *Bocca Romana*, and the accent of BLOIS. But how few are there of us, that go out Spaniards? that have language enough to ask, Which is the way? or, How many miles are there to the next town? This inconvenience will be sensibly felt by every enquiring mind. For want of Spanish, the compiler of these papers used to endeavour to avail himself at first of that almost universal tongue of mankind, the *Latin*: but in that, besides the difference of pronunciation, he found a much worse circumstance belonging to it: few of the monks or clergy understood any thing of it; and still fewer were able to speak it. Their common answer was, *No entiendo Uste*; *No es Latino por aca, pero es Latino por alla*: that is, “ I do not understand you, Sir: it is not “ the Latin of this here country, but of that there country.”

HAVING fairly apprised the reader of those imperfections which he will find in this miscellany, the writer hopes to be indulged in submitting to him what may be modestly said in favour of the performance.

THE accounts which we have of SPAIN, may be reduced to *three* sorts; the *Romance*, the *Obsolete*, and the *Modern*. With regard to the first, the author rejoices to see that absurd kind of writing so generally disregarded, that even the very names of the celebrated romances of the last age are almost as much forgotten as those of their authors: Though it is to be feared, that the wretched tribe of novel-writers, which have succeeded, have done greater mischief. The too sublime CLELIA and PHARAMOND were compositions, perhaps, of less pernicious tendency, than some of our later printed poisons: the former might fill the mind with improbable fictions, but the latter may inflame the heart with probable vice: the apprentice, or young miss, may be less incited by objects of impossible imitation, such as the wandering knight in black armour, or the rambling lady upon a milk-white palfrey,

than by the familiar history of the seducer and the seduced, which fill up most of our modern novels; these are subjects of more probable, and, therefore, more dangerous, imitation.

BUT to return from this short digression: the *romance*-accounts of SPAIN have had this bad effect upon us, that they have in a manner infused themselves into our ideas of that country. The manners of the most inflexible people, and such the Spaniards are, undergo some alteration in every age; the mad exploits of chivalry, and the extravagant gallantries of the old Spaniards, are now no more: the guittar and gauntlet are both thrown aside. The more refined manners of FRANCE passed over the *Pyrenees* with the house of BOURBON. Even the *Spanish language* is now making its last struggles against the more insinuating one of FRANCE; and, if the court did not still retain that laudable custom of answering foreign ambassadors in their own tongue, it would probably have fallen into great neglect before now. *French politesse* has given a new air to, and softened the ferocious features of that country: the mustacho has dropped from the lip, and the cloke from the shoulders of their noblesse. Even the *Inquisitors* have since learned not only the politeness, but humanity of that people, and have left off roasting heretics *alive*: a custom, which, within this century, has been practised at GRANADA.

THE next accounts which we have of SPAIN, may be called *Obsolete*; and such should be esteemed all those which have not been published within this century. They are accounts, indeed, which were once true, but are now no more a just description of the Spaniards, than an account of ENGLAND in the time of EDWARD III. would be called now: such are *The lady's travels into Spain*, a book pirated from a French writer; and many others. The *Delices d'Espagne*, though a good book, is now quite antiquated; even the descriptions of places in it are become unlike, because the face of a country will change with time, as well as the manners of a people.

THE third class of accounts mentioned above, are the *Modern*; of this sort we have very little that is either tolerably correct or

authentic. Mr. WILLOUGHBY's *Travels*, though republished in HARRIS's Collection, are of no moment; it is said the botanical, or natural history part of it is good; which, I suppose, made them appear together with Mr. RAY's. Mr. AR RICE has indeed lately published *A tour through Spain and Portugal, London 1760*, in 8vo; his view appears merely to have been that of exposing the absurd miracles of the Romish church, which indeed he has done effectually: but, in other respects, that book does not seem to have been written by one who actually visited the places themselves.

THE last thing, which I have to offer in favour of these letters, is, that the reader may be assured, that the utmost care was taken, that the accounts should be had from the best hand possible. The account of the *Spanish Money* was examined and approved by DARCY and JOIS, the great bankers at MADRID, and by the gentlemen of the embassy. The state of the *Army, Navy, Finances, and Civil List of the Court*, were transcribed from an original French MS. of the greatest authority, which may be seen in the author's possession, and which is a curiosity of no small value. The title of that French MS. which is a thin folio, runs thus, *Bilan General des Finances de S. M. C. Don Carlos III. Roi d'Espagne, en 1760.*

THE writer has inserted nothing, which he apprehends to be either ambiguous or false. And though he makes no doubt, but there are mistakes, yet he is certain, that he hath done all that he could to avoid them. He has made use of all the helps, living or dead, which fell in his way. And as he believes he has availed himself of most of what is *printed* upon this subject; so he is not conscious of having omitted any hints, given him by his friends and acquaintance, either in SPAIN or ENGLAND.

BUT though he has consulted what others have written upon this subject, it has been more with a view of avoiding their observations, than of making himself rich by their spoils: For in this matter he followed, as near as he could, that excellent instruction, which Dr. MIDDLETON hath given to succeeding writers, in his

admirable preface to the Life of CICERO. ‘ In writing history, as in travels, instead of transcribing the relations of those who have trodden the same ground before us, we should exhibit a series of observations peculiar to ourselves; such as the facts and places suggested to our own minds, from an attentive survey of them, without regard to what any one else may have delivered about them: And though in a production of this kind, where the same materials are common to all, many things must necessarily be said, which had been observed already by others; yet, if the author has any genius, there will be always enough of what is new, to distinguish it as an original work, and to give him a right to call it his own:’ which, he flatters himself, will be allowed to him in the following letters.

As to the form of *Letters*, in which this collection appears, it was owing to this circumstance; great part of it was sent to the author’s friends in ENGLAND, in that dress, from MADRID: and when he came to review the whole, he saw no reason why he should alter it; it is the easiest and most comprehensive vehicle of matter; it allows of more liberty than a stiff and formal narrative; it affords more relief to the reader, there being perpetual breaks, where he may pause at pleasure.

BUT there is one circumstance in this publication, which affords the author no small satisfaction; and that is the giving his reader a fresh proof of the happiness, which he enjoys in being *born a Briton*; of living in a country, where he possesses freedom of sentiment and of action, liberty of conscience, and security of property, under the most temperate climate, and the most duly poised government in the whole world. A liberty that cannot become licentious, because bounded and circumscribed, not by the arbitrary will of ONE, but by the wisdom of ALL, by the due limits of reason, justice, equity, and law: Where the prince can do no wrong, and where the people must do right: Where the lawless noble is no more privileged from the hand of justice, than the meanest peasant: Where the greatest minister stands accountable to the public, and, if he betrays the interests of his country, cannot bid defiance to the just resentments of the law.

LET

LET an Englishman go where he will, to SPAIN or PORTUGAL, to FRANCE or ITALY ; let him travel over the whole globe, he will find no constitution comparable to that of GREAT BRITAIN. Here is no political engine, no bastile, no inquisition, to stifle in a moment every symptom of a free spirit rising either in church or state ; no familiar, no alguazil to carry off each dangerous genius in arts or science, to those dark and bloody cells, from whence there are

— *vestigia nulla retrorsum.*

THE *Monfieur* is polite, ingenious, subtle, and proud : but he is a slave, and is starving ; his time, his purse, and his arm are not his own, but his monarch's. The *Italian* has neither freedom, morals, nor religion. The *Don* is brave, religious, and very jealous of his honour, when once engaged : yet oppression and poverty are his portion under the sway of an arbitrary monarch. And though he may boast, that the sun never rises or sets but within the vast limits of the Spanish monarchy, yet he will never see liberty, science, arts, manufactures, and commerce flourish in them with any vigour. The *Portuguese* is equally a slave, ignorant, and superstitious. The *German* is continually at war, or repairing the havock made by it. The *Hollander*, sunk in sloth, and the love of money, is only active in commerce out of avarice. All these, weighed in the balance against BRITAIN, in point of happiness and advantages, will be found light : Let it, therefore, be considered as no illiberal end of this publication, to inspire the reader with love of the British constitution.

THE papers, which compose the following *Historical Introduction*, consist of three parts. The *first* contains *An extract from the works of the Marquis de Mondecar*, a noble, learned, and judicious Spaniard, shewing the rise and origin of the several kingdoms into which SPAIN was divided, and whose provincial divisions subsist to this day. The *second* is *A short view of the history of Spain from the death of Charles II. to the present time* : This period was chosen, as being that of the accession of the BOURBON-family, which forms a new æra, and is, in the history of SPAIN, what the revolution is in the history of ENGLAND ; our modern politics hardly

hardly looking farther back than the present settlement in SPAIN, and the partition of the Italian dominions, which ensued upon it. The *third* part of this historical introduction is, *A list of English ambassadors, &c. at the court of Spain, with the treaties, &c.* which it was thought would be no unuseful appendix to the former.

To conclude: Should there be, among the more humane readers, one who, in any remark, circumstance, or reflexion, may imagine that I have heightened or exaggerated this account of the Spanish nation, or have been any where too severe in my animadversions; have *caricatured* the features, or *magnified* the manners of that people: he will, upon better information, discover, that THIS is by far the most favourable and candid account of SPAIN, which is not written by a Spaniard. Those who will take the pains to read what the Marshal BASSOMPIERE, the Countess D'AUNOIS, Father LABAT, the Abbé VAYRAC, Madame de VILLARS, M. DESORMEAUX, Don JUAN ALVAREZ DE COLMENAR, himself a Spaniard, and others have written upon this subject, will see the difference between a fair, true, and impartial account, and one dictated by a heart overflowing with gall, and penned with the ink of invective. And yet, what is more remarkable, their descriptions were written by authors of the same *religious persuasion* with the Spaniards, by true and zealous *catholics*. If mine has any merit to claim over their's, it is by shewing, that a *protestant* has written a more favourable account of a *catholic* country, than *catholics* themselves have published. Truth and fact have been throughout the sole objects of my attention. I had neither ill-nature to gratify, or spleen to indulge: I abhor all national reflections, and despise from my heart the little prejudices of country, or custom. Upon many accounts I love and revere the Spaniards: I admire their virtues, and applaud their valour. All nations and regions have their respective merits. But, notwithstanding, I have steadily kept that just rule in view,

Ne quid FALSI dicere ausus, ne quid VERI non ausus,

Historical Introduction.

(The remarks of the Marquis de MONDECAR upon the Spanish historians being judicious, new, and not commonly to be met with, I thought proper to give the reader the following extracts from his work.)

THE Roman empire in this country lasted something more than 400 years after the commencement of the Christian æra : but the Spanish history is connected with the Roman for near 600, till that empire was utterly extinct. The GOTHs entered about the year 400. HIMERIC, with the SUEVI and ALANS, conquered GALLICIA, about the year 408. These SUEVI, who gave name to GALLICIA, subdued PORTUGAL about 464. REQUINA, the son of HIMERIC, conquered BISCAY, ANDALUSIA, and took SARAGOÇA and TARRAGONA in 488. RECAREDO was King of SPAIN in 587, and called a Cortes, at which prelates, as well as secular lords, assisted, and granted aids to the crown. After him came WITTERIC, to whom succeeded GUNDEMAR, in 610. In 631, SISENANDO was chose King, who called a Cortes at TOLEDO.

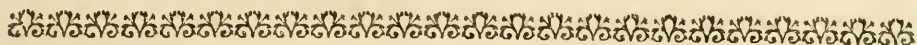
THE MOORS entered SPAIN about the year 680, consequently the Gothic government did not last 300 years. TARIF ABENZARCA came in 713.

THE three most principal northern nations which came here, were, the VANDALS, from whom the province of ANDALUSIA received its name; these went afterwards into AFRICA : The SUEVI, who remained long in GALLICIA; and the GOTHs, who conquered the whole country, and held it upwards of 200 years. The GOTHs possessed the whole continent of SPAIN, MAURITANIA, AFRICA, and GALLIA GOTHICA, or that part of FRANCE,

which is now corruptly called *LANGUEDOC* : but in their turn they gave place to the *MOORS* or *ARABS*, whose dominion ceased, when *PELAYO* was established in his throne. The *MOORS* conquered all *SPAIN*, except those mountainous parts, whither some bodies of resolute christians fled for refuge. These by degrees planned and concerted measures to shake off the Arabic yoke. The first stand against them was made by the mountaineers of *ASTURIAS*, who elected King the Infant Don *PELAYO*, swearing the nobles over a shield, and crying out, *Real! Real!* This *PELAYO* was a Gothic prince by birth, so that he in some measure restored again the Gothic monarchy. He recovered *GIJON* and *LEON* ; and his son got possession of part of *PORTUGAL*, and all *GALLICIA*. From this recovery of *LEON* came the race of the kings of *OVIEDO* and *LEON*. The boldness and success of these christians alarming the *ARABS*, they attacked them in their different strong-holds, in order to cut off their communications one with another. But this produced a very different effect from what they expected. The christians, to repel the danger that threatened them on every side at the same time, chose different heads in different places, who being separate one from the other in their governments, defended their subjects independently of one another. This necessary resolution gave rise to the *different kingdoms* in *SPAIN*. Such was their undoubted origin, tho' it is impossible to say, at what exact period each kingdom rose, as there are no antient monuments remaining sufficient to prove that point.

THE first kingdom or monarchy that arose, after the Moorish invasion, was that, as we have said, of Don *PELAYO* in the *ASTURIAS*, an elective monarchy : and in proportion as the Asturian princes dislodged the pagans of those lands and territories that lay nearest to them, they changed the stile of their titles ; being first called Kings of *ASTURIAS*, then of *OVIEDO*, and lastly of *LEON* and *GALLICIA*, until they were incorporated with the Kings of *CASTILE*, by the marriage of Queen Donna *SANCHA ISABELLA*, sister of King Don *BERMUDO III.* its last prince, both of them descendants of King Don *ALONZO V.* who married the daughter of *FERDINAND the great*, to whom some give the title of Emperor, and who was first King of *CASTILE*.

OF this long period, in which the christian princes gained such glorious successes, and singular victories over the infidels, there are some short and obscure accounts in the little chronicles of Don ALONZO III. King of LEON, surnamed *the great*, and of ALVEDA, of SAMPIRO, and of Don PELAYO.



COUNTS and KINGS of CASTILE.

AT the same time with these ASTURIAN Princes, arose many nobles, who signed their deeds and instruments, with the titles of Counts or Princes, and, among others, those of CASTILE, which state arrived at sovereignty in the time of the great Count FERNAN GONZALEZ, by his heroic valour, glorious triumphs, and extended power. The most distinguished Prince of this house was Don SANCHE GARCIA, whose violent death was the cause, why this house united itself to the crown of ARRAGON and NAVARRE, by the marriage of the Princess Donna SANCHE his sister, with the King Don SANCHE MAYOR, whose second son Don FERNANDO raised CASTILE into a kingdom. CASTILE afterwards became an hereditary crown in his lineage, in preference to all the other kingdoms, altho' inferior in origin to ARRAGON and NAVARRE.

THE series and chronology of the several counts is much contested between the Spanish writers, ARREDONDO, AREVALO, SANDOVAL, and others: a dispute not worth our entering into, since it is certain, that from the bravery, success, and power with which Don FERNANDO extended his dominion, so as to be stiled first king of CASTILE, his kingdom became so famous, that all the Moorish princes acknowledged him for their sovereign. His son was Don ALONZO VI. his grand-daughter was the Queen Donna URACA, with whom ended the barony of NAVARRE: the crown of CASTILE falling back again into the house of the Counts of BURGUNDY (who came from the Kings of ITALY) by her marriage with the Count Don RAYMUND, her first husband; from which match came their son the great Emperor Don ALONZO VII.

THIS prince left his estates divided between his two sons: To Don SANCHE, the eldest, whose great virtues and untimely death gained him the name of *the regretted*, he left the kingdoms of CASTILE, and part of LEON: And to Don FERDINAND, the second, the rest of LEON, GALLICIA, and ASTURIAS. He took upon himself the title of King of SPAIN, pretending that the primogeniture of the GOTHS, which was re-established in PELAYO, had centered in himself.

DON SANCHE dying, he was succeeded by Don ALONZO *the noble*, one of the greatest princes of his time. It was he who gained the famous battle of the plains of TOLOSA over the MOORS, destroying 200,000 of them at one time †. He dying without issue-male, the two kingdoms of CASTILE and TOLEDO went to Donna BERENGUELA, his eldest daughter.

ALTHOUGH the royal barony of BURGUNDY ended in the Queen Donna BERENGUELA, it returned and united with the kingdom of LEON, GALLICIA, and ASTURIAS by the marriage of King Don ALONZO, her uncle (who succeeded in those kingdoms to King Don FERNANDO, brother to King Don ALONZO *the noble*, her grandfather) from which match came the King SN. FERNANDO, from whom descended, without interruption, the Kings of CASTILE and ARRAGON, until united in FERDINAND and ISABELLA, they relapsed into the august house of AUSTRIA, by the marriage of the Queen Donna JUANA, their eldest daughter, to the Arch-Duke Don PHILIP I. from which great union sprung the Emperor CHARLES V.

FROM this period downward, the Spanish history is very connectedly written, and well known; I shall now therefore only give a summary view of it from the death of CHARLES II. to the present time.

† Begging the Spanish historian's pardon, this number must be exaggerated: 50,000 slain is full enough for any hero.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION. xiii

A CONCISE VIEW OF

THE HISTORY OF SPAIN,

From the Death of CHARLES II.

To the Present Time.

AS CHARLES the second of SPAIN had no issue, ENGLAND, FRANCE, and HOLLAND, formed, in 1699, the famous treaty of partition, for dividing the dominions of the crown of SPAIN, upon his death. Each party had, or, at least, pretended to have, the common view, in this treaty, of preventing such a vast accession of power from passing, either into the House of AUSTRIA, or that of BOURBON, already formidable enough of themselves. This step very sensibly affected the court of SPAIN : CHARLES the second was so much offended thereat, that, on his death-bed, he signed a will, by which he bequeathed all his dominions to PHILIP Duke of ANJOU, grandson of LEWIS XIV. Though that Prince had before entered into the partition treaty, yet, finding the succession thus left to his family, he paid no regard to any former engagements or renunciations, but on the 18th of February, declared his grandson, PHILIP, King of SPAIN, who arrived at Madrid on the 14th of April, 1701. This proceeding immediately alarmed the maritime powers and the Emperor ; the former were apprehensive of Spanish AMERICA's falling into the hands of the FRENCH, and the latter, besides the injury he imagined done to his own family, dreaded the too great influence of the power of the House of BOURBON. A war ensued ; and CHARLES Arch-duke of AUSTRIA was soon after set up, in opposition to PHILIP V. His claim was vigorously supported by the maritime powers, and at first favoured by many of the grandees of SPAIN. In the third year of this war, the King of PORTUGAL and the Duke of SAVOY joined likewise

wife in the alliance against PHILIP; who, in the following campaigns, was driven from his capital, by the success of the allied forces, and almost obliged to abandon SPAIN. In the end, however, his party prevailed, and, at the peace of UTRECHT in 1713, he was acknowledged as King of SPAIN by all the confederates leagued against him, except the Emperor. The allies then contented themselves with such limitations and restrictions, as might keep the two monarchies of FRANCE and SPAIN disunited. A treaty of partition may, indeed, be said to have taken place at the last; for PHILIP, by the articles of the peace, was only left in possession of SPAIN, its American colonies, and settlements in the EAST-INDIES; but the Spanish dominions in ITALY, and the islands of SICILY and SARDINIA were dismembered from the monarchy, which had also lost the island of MINORCA and the fortress of GIBRALTAR, both of which places were ceded to GREAT-BRITAIN. The Duke of SAVOY was put in possession of the island of SICILY, with the title of King; and the Arch-duke CHARLES, who, two years before, had been elected Emperor of GERMANY, held MILAN, NAPLES, and SARDINIA, and still kept up his claim to the whole Spanish monarchy.

THOUGH PHILIP, by the peace concluded at UTRECHT, was left, by the allies, possessor of the greatest and most important part of the Spanish dominions, yet some obstinate enemies still remained to be reduced, before he could be said to have fixed the Spanish crown securely upon his head. The inhabitants of CATALONIA refused to acknowledge him, and, finding themselves abandoned by their allies, solicited the assistance of the Grand Signior, in hopes of establishing themselves into an independent republic. Their blind obstinacy, however, served only to heighten the miseries and calamities to which they had been greatly exposed during the whole course of the war. After a most bloody and stubborn defence, they were entirely reduced by the King's troops, when they were deprived of their antient privileges, and their country was annexed to the crown of CASTILE, as a conquered province.

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THE reduction of CATALONIA restored tranquillity to SPAIN, which had been harassed for twelve years by a most cruel and bloody war. PHILIP, by that conquest, finding himself quietly seated upon the throne, began to turn his thoughts to the re-union of the Italian dominions, which he had seen wrested from him with the utmost regret. With a view to this re-union, his first wife being dead, he married ELIZABETH FARNESE, heiress of PARMA, PLACENTIA, and TUSCANY; which alliance afterwards proved a source of new dissensions and wars among the Princes of Europe; and, to this day, still leaves an opening for bloody contests.

THE match was first proposed, and afterwards negotiated, by the famous Abbé ALBERONI, who, from being a simple curate in the PARMESAN, rose, by a surprising series of fortunate incidents, more than by any extraordinary talents, to be prime minister in SPAIN. ALBERONI was the son of a common gardener. In the beginning of the war he had, by his forwardness and address, insinuated himself into the favour of VENDOME, the French General in ITALY, who brought him with him to FRANCE, and afterwards to MADRID, where, after the Duke's death, he continued as agent for the affairs of PARMA, and laid hold of the opportunity of aggrandising himself, by proposing a match that suited with the views of the Spanish court. The new Queen, being a stranger in SPAIN, was advised in every thing by ALBERONI, who, being protected and countenanced by her, boldly intermeddled in affairs of state, and soon acquired a great degree of favour with the King. A few days after the celebration of the King's marriage with the Princess of PARMA, his grandfather, LEWIS XIV. died, and left his dominions to an infant successor. Though PHILIP had, before the conclusion of the treaty of UTRECHT, solemnly renounced, for himself, and his heirs, all right to the succession of the crown of FRANCE, yet he was now strongly urged by ALBERONI, to insist upon the regency of that kingdom, during the minority, as first Prince of the blood of FRANCE, and next in succession to the present monarch. This wild and imprudent counsel, if it had been followed, would undoubtedly have involved SPAIN in a new war,

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which would have had no other object, than the meer point of honour; and, upon that consideration, and, perhaps, some regard to the oath, it was rejected by the King. It proved, however, extremely prejudicial to SPAIN, and, in the end, occasioned the ruin of ALBERONI; for the Duke of ORLEANS, who had been declared Regent by the Parliament of PARIS, having received intelligence of his designs, conceived an implacable hatred against him; did his utmost to thwart all his projects of government; and never ceased persecuting him till he saw him disgraced. This happened a very few years afterward, the Duke's wishes being seconded by ALBERONI's own conduct; for the same impetuous and intriguing spirit, which had promoted his grandeur, pushed him on to his downfall.

AT this time, however, he was in the height of favour, and continually urged the King, not to delay the renewing of the war in ITALY, against the Emperor CHARLES, who gave just foundation for a rupture, by still retaining the title of King of SPAIN; by creating Spanish grandees; by protecting those who were disaffected to PHILIP; and by punishing those who remained faithful to him, with the forfeiture of their estates in FLANDERS and ITALY. The Queen, who was lately delivered of a son, had now got a great ascendancy over her husband, and zealously supporting ALBERONI in all his proceedings, PHILIP, out of complaisance to her, was easily persuaded to commit the whole management of his affairs to him, and weakly suffered himself to be guided, in every thing, by his counsels. ALBERONI, though not declared prime minister, now acted as such, with a most despotic authority, and caused immense military preparations to be carried on in the ports of SPAIN, with the design of attacking the dominions possessed by the Emperor in ITALY. But, to deceive the Pope, from whom he had, for some time, been soliciting a Cardinal's hat, and who, he knew, would be greatly offended with the renewal of the war in ITALY, he, by private letters, professed his abhorrence of disturbing the repose of that country, and alledged, that the naval armaments were designed against the Turks, who had attacked the Venetian

Venetian territories in GREECE, and even struck a terror into the Italians, by making a descent upon their coasts.

THE great naval preparations kept all EUROPE in suspense, and very much alarmed several states. The Emperor suspected an attack upon NAPLES and MILAN; the Duke of SAVOY feared an invasion of SICILY, which island, he knew, was not well affected to him; and GEORGE I. of GREAT-BRITAIN, was apprehensive, that the fleet was designed to assist the Jacobites, who had been defeated two years before in SCOTLAND.

ALBERONI having, at length, obtained from the Pope, not only the dignity of Cardinal for himself, but also an indulgence to raise a subsidy, for five years, upon the clergy in SPAIN and Spanish AMERICA, immediately took off the mask, and ordered the fleet to sail against SARDINIA, which island was reduced in less than two months. The Emperor being, at this time, engaged in a war against the Turks in HUNGARY, had left but a very few troops in his Italian dominions, not expecting to be attacked by PHILIP in those parts, as both Princes had stipulated to observe a neutrality, in regard to them. He had, indeed, done some things that might be deemed infractions of that neutrality; but the King of SPAIN not having made any formal complaints of these, was now generally looked upon as the aggressor, by the invasion of SARDINIA.

ACCORDINGLY the Pope, who now never mentioned ALBERONI's name but with some injurious epithet, by a public brief expressed his resentment against PHILIP, and he, in return, commanded the nuntio to leave SPAIN. The King of GREAT-BRITAIN and the Regent of FRANCE ordered their ambassadors at MADRID, to complain of the violation of the neutrality. They even sent ambassadors extraordinary to SPAIN, to press an accommodation between the Emperor and PHILIP. ALBERONI, however, replying, in a very haughty stile, and continuing his military preparations with more vigour than ever, the powers who offered their mediation entered into a league with the Emperor, which was called the triple alliance; and King GEORGE sent a fleet of 26
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ships of the line into the MEDITERRANEAN, under the command of Admiral BYNG, who was ordered to maintain the neutrality of ITALY.

THE Spanish minister vainly persuaded himself, that no powers but those who were directly attacked, would interfere in opposing his wild schemes, which tended to disturb the settled tranquillity of EUROPE; and he least of all expected to see an intimate alliance betwixt the courts of GREAT-BRITAIN and FRANCE. His success against SARDINIA, which was but a trifling conquest, so far blinded him, that he thought himself sufficient alone to oppose three of the most formidable powers of EUROPE united. He still pursued his warlike preparations with the utmost vigour, which were greater than any fitted out by SPAIN, since the time of the famous Armada against ENGLAND. He consulted with nobody; and the Spanish officers, of the greatest prudence and experience, who ventured to give their advice, were treated by him with contempt and arrogance.

To counterbalance the power of the triple alliance, he vainly attempted to embroil all EUROPE. He sent an envoy to CONSTANTINOPLE, to excite Prince RAGOTSKI to renew the war in HUNGARY, where the Turks had agreed to a truce for four years; he formed a conspiracy in FRANCE, for deposing the Regent, which served only to heighten the animosity of the Duke of ORLEANS against himself; he pressed the Czar of MUSCOVY, to attack the Emperor's hereditary dominions; and he offered large subsidies to CHARLES XII. of SWEDEN, if he would invade GREAT-BRITAIN.

DURING these negotiations, the Spanish fleet, consisting of 26 ships of the line, besides frigates, sailed from BARCELONA, having on board 30,000 of the best troops of SPAIN, most of them veterans, who had been in all the actions of the long war of the succession.

ON the first and second of July 1719, the army landed on SICILY, and, in a few weeks, made themselves masters of a great part of
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that island. The entire conquest, in all probability, would very soon have been completed; but the Spanish fleet, on the 9th of August, being totally defeated by Admiral BYNG, who took and destroyed 23 ships of the line, their land army could no longer receive any considerable supplies, while the Piedmontese garisons were daily reinforced by German troops from the kingdom of NAPLES.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fatal blow the Spanish marine had received, ALBERONI still thought himself able to cope with the many enemies his turbulent ambition had raised against SPAIN, though he had exhausted, not only the King's revenues, but those of many private persons. Being disappointed in his expectations from CHARLES XII. who was killed, on the 10th of December, before FREDERICS-HALL in NORWAY, he sent for the pretender from ROME, and ordered 5000 men to be embarked at the GROUYNE, with a view to invade both SCOTLAND and IRELAND. Only about 1000 of those troops, however, landed in SCOTLAND, where they, and about 2000 Jacobites, who had joined them, were quickly defeated and dispersed. The rest, after suffering greatly by a storm, were obliged to return to SPAIN. A few ships, about the same time, sailed from VIGO to the coast of BRITANY, in hopes of raising an insurrection in that province, against the Duke of ORLEANS; but this attempt had no better success than the other.

THOUGH ALBERONI seemed to triumph in the beginning of his enterprizes, yet he now began severely to feel the superior strength of the powers he had to contend with, which, indeed, had been discovered long before, almost by every body but himself. The Regent of FRANCE sent a powerful army against SPAIN, under the command of the Duke of BERWICK, who, in three months, made himself master of the provinces of GULUSCOA and ROUSSILLON, with all their fortified places, and, at PORT-PASSAGE and SANTOGNA, burnt seven ships of war, and materials for seven others, the loss of the whole being computed at near 800,000 l. and, a few months after, the English landed, with 4000 men, at VIGO, where, after making them-

selves masters of the town, they carried off six small vessels. These invasions, with the bad news from SICILY, where the Spaniards had been obliged for several months to act on the defensive, at length opened the eyes of PHILIP, and induced him to hearken to the representations of his confessor d'AUBENTON, and the Marquis SCOTI, the minister of PARMA, who assured him, that the allies would never agree to a peace, while ALBERONI continued in SPAIN.

PHILIP, alarmed with the bad situation of his affairs, had, for some months, expressed great dissatisfaction with ALBERONI, and now parted with him without regret. He ordered him to leave SPAIN in three weeks, declared the Marquis de BEDMAR and the marquis de GRIMALDO his first ministers, and recalled several noblemen, who, on various pretences, had been banished, during the late administration. ALBERONI left SPAIN about the middle of December, and retired to ITALY, where he was so persecuted by the Pope, and even by PHILIP, that for several years he was obliged to travel disguised, and to conceal the place of his residence.

A FEW months after the retreat of ALBERONI, PHILIP, though very unwillingly, acceded to the triple alliance, by which he engaged himself to evacuate both SICILY and SARDINIA. The Spanish troops accordingly abandoned those two islands the ensuing summer, the Emperor being put in possession of SICILY, and the Duke of SAVOY of SARDINIA. Soon after, a congress was appointed to be held at CAMBRAY, to settle all differences among the contending parties, and treat of a final pacification. While some preliminary points were settling, PHILIP sent the Marquis de LEYDE, with a considerable fleet and army, to the relief of CEUTA, which had been besieged for 26 years by the MOORS. The Spanish troops, a few days after their arrival, totally routed and dispersed the MOORS, and made themselves masters of their entrenched camp, and all their artillery.

As the Duke of ORLEANS, since the disgrace of ALBERONI, had seemingly favoured the pretensions of SPAIN, PHILIP the following

lowing year, at his solicitation, contracted a double alliance with the branches of the house of BOURBON in FRANCE. The Infanta of SPAIN, tho' then only three years of age, was sent to FRANCE as future queen to LEWIS XV., and two of the daughters of the Duke of ORLEANS arrived in SPAIN, to be married to the Prince of ASTURIAS and the Infant Don CARLOS. The succession of this last to the Dutchies of PARMA and TUSCANY seemed now to be the chief object of the court of SPAIN. This point and many others were to be settled at CAMBRAY; but as the Emperor, who had no inclination to gratify the Spaniards, purposely delayed the congress, PHILIP this year concluded a particular treaty with the court of GREAT BRITAIN, who having the *assiento*, or contract of supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, renewed, agreed to restore the ships taken off SICILY.

NOTHING memorable happened in SPAIN during the two following years; but in the beginning of the year after, 1724, PHILIP astonished all EUROPE, by publicly abdicating his crown in favour of his eldest son Don LEWIS, Prince of ASTURIAS, who was then in the seventeenth year of his age. PHILIP himself, tho' he had not reached his fortieth year, had long been sick of regal grandeur. From a weakness of body and mind, the least application to business had for some years given him a disgust; his mind was continually filled with religious scruples, which rendered him timorous and indecisive in every thing; and he falsely imagined that a sceptre was incompatible with a life of integrity.

THE Spaniards expressed great joy upon the accession of LEWIS I. who was endeared to them, not only by being born among them, but by his generosity, affability, and many other virtues. The public joy, however, was soon turned into mourning, by the unexpected death of the King, who died of the small-pox, universally regretted, in the eighth month of his reign.

UPON the death of LEWIS, PHILIP was persuaded to resume the reins of government, and the year following surprised all the powers of EUROPE, by concluding a particular treaty with the Emperor, upon which the different princes recalled their plenipotentiaries

potentiaries from CAMBRAY, where they had trifled away three years merely in feasting and entertainments. By the treaty of VIENNA, which was with the utmost secrecy negotiated by the famous RIPERDA, PHILIP resigned all pretensions to NAPLES, SICILY, the LOW-COUNTRIES, and the MILANESE; CHARLES, on the other hand, renounced all claim to SPAIN and the INDIES, and besides, promised to grant the investiture of PARMA and TUSCANY to DON CARLOS. PHILIP soon after entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the court of VIENNA; to counterbalance which, the courts of GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE and PRUSSIA concluded a mutual alliance at HANOVER.

THE system of EUROPE by these treaties seemed again changed, especially as PHILIP was at this time greatly irritated against FRANCE, on account of their sending back the Infanta, and now connected himself most closely with the court of VIENNA. The bad understanding betwixt SPAIN and FRANCE was soon followed with a rupture betwixt that court and GREAT BRITAIN. RIPERDA, by concluding the treaty of VIENNA, rose so high in PHILIP's favour, that he was created a Duke and Grandee of SPAIN, and was entrusted with the departments of war, of the marine, the finances, and the INDIES. He enjoyed those honours and offices, however, only a few months; for the different regulations he proposed were so disgustful to the lazy Spaniards, that he was accused of mal-administration, and not only disgraced, but persecuted. To save himself, he took refuge in the house of Mr. STANHOPE, the English ambassador; but the court was so exasperated against him, that they took him from thence by force, and sent him prisoner to the castle of SEGOVIA. The ENGLISH Ambassador, in resentment for the breach of his privileges, protested against their violence, and left MADRID.

THE Emperor, who was offended with the opposition he had met with from GREAT BRITAIN, in establishing an East-India company at OSTEND, fomented the differences betwixt this court and SPAIN, and was so successful at MADRID, that the year following, 1727, in the end of February, the Spaniards laid siege to GI-

GIBRALTAR. They soon found the enterprize, however, above their strength, and, after four months of open trenches, were obliged to retire with disgrace. The bishop of FREJUS, afterwards so well known by the name of Cardinal FLEURI, was at this time labouring to establish a general pacification among the powers of EUROPE, and had prevailed on the Emperor and King of GREAT BRITAIN, and the States-General to agree with FRANCE in signing the preliminaries for a peace. The Spaniards, who wanted a fair pretence to withdraw from GIBRALTAR, soon after acceded to these preliminaries. A general congress being then appointed to be held at SOISSONS, PHILIP sent three plenipotentiaries thither, and soon after sent an ambassador for the first time to RUSSIA, who concluded a treaty of commerce between the two nations. As the negotiations at SOISSONS met with many interruptions, on account of the various claims of the different princes who had sent their plenipotentiaries thither, PHILIP, the following year, 1729, concluded a particular treaty at SEVILLE, with GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE, to which the States General afterwards acceded. By this treaty PHILIP promised no longer to countenance the OSTEND-company; and the other powers, in return, engaged to guarantee the succession of Don CARLOS to the duchies of TUSCANY, PARMA, and PLACENTIA, and to assist in introducing 6000 Spaniards into these territories. The Emperor, who could not bear the thoughts of seeing Spanish troops in ITALY, was greatly offended with this treaty, and endeavoured, by artifice, to render it ineffectual. Accordingly, two years after, when the succession to PARMA and PLACENTIA opened to Don CARLOS by the death of the last Duke of the Farnese family, the Emperor's troops took possession of several fortified places in those dukedoms, under pretence that the widow of the late Duke had been left with child by him. CHARLES, however, seeing no way of securing those duchies by negotiation, and being sensible that the cheat would soon be detected, agreed at length to suffer 6000 Spaniards to accompany Don CARLOS into ITALY, and also engaged to suppress the OSTEND-company, which had given so much offence : GREAT BRITAIN, on the other hand, promising to guarantee his dominions in ITALY. Soon after, an English fleet joined that of SPAIN, and conducted the
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Infant Don CARLOS to LEGHORN, who quietly at length took possession of PARMA, which had been destined to him as his inheritance ever since his birth.

THE settlement of Don CARLOS being accomplished, the court of SPAIN turned their views to the recovery of ORAN. An army of 25,000 men was accordingly sent to AFRICA under the command of the Count de MONTEMAR, who totally defeated the Moorish army, and in less than a month made himself master of the place, tho' it was defended by a garrison of 10,000 men.

THE recovery of their African possessions was far from satisfying the ambition of the Spanish court; who now eagerly embraced an opportunity of breaking with the Emperor, and thereby extending their dominions in ITALY. The throne of POLAND becoming vacant, by the death of the Elector of SAXONY, the greatest part of the POLES elected STANISLAUS, who had formerly been their King; but a few of the most powerful chose the new Elector of SAXONY, and the son of their late King. STANISLAUS was supported by his son-in-law, LEWIS XV. of FRANCE, who, on this occasion, entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Kings of SPAIN and SARDINIA. The Emperor CHARLES, and the Czarina zealously espoused the cause of the other competitor.

THE war which ensued was very favourable to the Spaniards, who, in one campaign, made an entire conquest of the kingdom of NAPLES. The year following, 1735, Don CARLOS completed the conquest of SICILY, and was crowned as King of the Two SICILIES in PALERMO, the capital city of the island. The Emperor, in the mean time, being driven out of almost all his possessions in LOMBARDY and TUSCANY, and being also unable to oppose the French armies on the RHINE, solicited the mediation of the maritime powers, who by threatening to take part in the war, prevailed on the contending parties to agree to a suspension of arms in the beginning of winter. As the Elector of SAXONY was by this time securely fixed upon the throne of POLAND, and the intercession of the maritime powers cut off all hopes from the French and Spaniards of enlarging their conquests in ITALY and GERMANY,

they were obliged to continue the armistice, and to negotiate a peace.

THE preliminary articles of the treaty which were settled by the courts of VIENNA and PARIS, being published in the beginning of the year 1736, were far from being satisfactory to the court of SPAIN, because, tho' they were allowed to keep NAPLES and SICILY, it was proposed they should restore PARMA and PLACENTIA to the Emperor, and renounce all claim to TUSCANY. The maritime powers, however, acquiescing in the disposition that had been made, SPAIN was obliged to submit, and the year following upon the death of JOHN GASTON DE MEDICIS, the last male descendant of that illustrious family, the Spanish troops evacuated TUSCANY, which by the treaty then negotiating, was given to the Duke of LORRAIN and BAR, who in the beginning of the preceding year had married the Arch-Duchess MARIA-THERESA, the heiress of the family of AUSTRIA.

THE peace, which had been negotiating near three years, was at length concluded at VIENNA in the month of November 1738. By this treaty, PARMA and PLACENTIA were ceded in full propriety to the Emperor; and his son-in-law was declared Duke of TUSCANY; the Duke, in return, ceding his dutchies of BAR and LORRAIN, to the exiled King STANISLAUS, upon whose death they were to be annexed to the crown of FRANCE. The fiefs of the FORTONESE and VIGEVANCSA were detached from the MILANESE in favour of the King of SARDINIA, and DON CARLOS was left in possession of the kingdoms of NAPLES and SICILY, with some places on the coast of TUSCANY.

THE treaty of VIENNA was hardly ratified, when SPAIN was threatened with a new war with GREAT BRITAIN, on account of the disputes, which, for some time, had subsisted between the two courts, about the freedom of commerce in AMERICA. The British court had, for some years, made loud complaints of the piracies and hostilities committed in the American seas, by the Spanish guarda-costas, who, on trifling and false pretences, seized

the English ships in their passage to their own colonies, and not only made prize of them, but treated their crews with the greatest inhumanity. The court of SPAIN, on the other hand, alleged, that the British merchants, in violation of solemn treaties, had, for many years, carried on a clandestine trade with the Spanish colonies in AMERICA, by which the commerce of SPAIN had been greatly prejudiced; that SPAIN was, therefore, greatly interested in putting a stop to such an illicit traffic, and that those who were seized in carrying it on could not justly complain of any injury.

BOTH nations insisted loudly on the injuries they had received; but each evaded giving any satisfaction as to those injuries which their respective subjects had committed. The Spaniards, indeed, amused the English with hopes of redress; they sent orders to their commanders in AMERICA to cease hostilities; yet they connived at the breach of those orders; and returned evasive answers to all representations that were made to them on that head. Their presumption was not so much owing to a confidence in their own strength, as to their opinion of the passiveness of the British ministry, and their knowledge of the violent contentions between the different parties in this island.

IT was certainly the interest of both parties to avoid coming to extremities; but the Spaniards not acting with sincerity, even in their negotiations for a peaceable accommodation of all differences, and aiming by the famous convention concluded in the beginning of the following year, to quiet the complaints, without having the causes of them fully discussed, the court of LONDON was at length provoked to issue letters of reprisals against the Spaniards, their vessels and effects. This step was soon followed by declarations of war at LONDON and MADRID, and both nations began hostilities with great animosity. The Spaniards at first made considerable advantages by the capture of great numbers of English ships; but they were soon alarmed with the news of the loss of PORTO BELLO, which was taken in the beginning of December 1739, by Admiral VERNON. About the same time, they suffered very considerably by the ravages of the Barbary corsairs

on their coasts, and were threatened with the loss of their richest provinces in AMERICA, by a conspiracy formed by one CORDOVA, who pretended to be descended from the antient Incas of PERU. The conspiracy however was happily discovered before it took effect, and the author of it put to death.

THE following year the Spaniards sent a fleet of 18 ships of the line to the WEST-INDIES, with a design, as it was supposed, of attacking JAMAICA. The French likewise, though they still professed a neutrality, sent two squadrons to the American seas, to act defensively in favour of the Spaniards, being bound by treaty to guarantee their territories. The English, in the mean time, blind to their own internal strength, suffered themselves most absurdly to be alarmed with the rumour of an invasion from SPAIN, and neglected sending succours to Admiral VERNON, who had bombarded CARTHAGENA, and taken CHAGRE, a town on the river of that name, the head of which is but a few miles distant from PANAMA, on the South Sea.

ABOUT the same time, General OGLETHORPE, Governor of GEORGIA, attacked Fort ST. AUGUSTINE, the capital of Spanish FLORIDA; but, after lying some weeks before the place, he was obliged to withdraw, with loss. In the end of OCTOBER 1740, the English, at length, sent out a most powerful fleet, as a reinforcement to Admiral VERNON, who, the following year, in the month of March, invested CARTHAGENA by sea and land, with a fleet of 29 ships of the line, and an army of about 12,000 men. The Spaniards, however, by the dilatoriness of the English ministry, having had leisure to reinforce the garrison, and the season of the year being very unfavourable to troops in the field, the English, after a siege of some weeks, were obliged to retire, with the loss of several thousand men. The neglect of timely supporting Admiral VERNON was very fortunate for SPAIN, for, if he had commanded but half that force the preceding year, when he made the first attack upon CARTHAGENA, he would, in all probability, have reduced that city as well as CHAGRE; and, as the passage from this last place to

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PANAMA is but very short, the land troops might also have reduced that town, which would have enabled them to co-operate with Commodore ANSON, who had sailed round CAPE-HORN, and this year began to act offensively against the Spanish settlements on the South Sea.

THE bad success of the English arms in the WEST-INDIES occasioned great joy in SPAIN; and PHILIP, as a reward for the bravery of the Marquis de ESLABA, Governor of CARTHAGENA, promoted him to the rank of Captain-general, and created him Viceroy of PERU. PHILIP, some months before, had published a memorial, claiming the succession of the hereditary dominions of his rival CHARLES VI. who had died at VIENNA in the month of October, and was succeeded by his eldest daughter, MARIA THERESA, who took the title of Queen of HUNGARY. All that the Catholic King aimed at by this claim, was the securing of LOMBARDY for his third son, Don PHILIP, which, he thought, would, at this time, be an easy prize, as the Queen of HUNGARY was unexpectedly attacked by the King of PRUSSIA, and also by the Elector of BAVARIA, who was assisted by the Kings of FRANCE and POLAND. However while the fate of CARTHAGENA depended, the Spaniards made not the least efforts against their new enemy; but, upon receiving the news of the repulse of the English, they assembled a body of forces at BARCELONA, which sailed for NAPLES in the month of November, under the command of the Duke de MONTEMAR. Those troops were reinforced the following year 1742 from SPAIN, and, being joined by the Neapolitans, formed an army of about 60,000 men, MONTEMAR then advanced through the ecclesiastical state as far as the Bolognese: but the King of SARDINIA declaring for the Queen of HUNGARY, and joining the Austrian army, the Spaniards were obliged to retreat, in the end of summer, to the kingdom of NAPLES, where, soon after their arrival, they lost their Neapolitan allies, Don CARLOS being forced to agree to a neutrality, by an English squadron, which threatened to bombard his capital. This was a great disappointment to the Spaniards, for they depended upon being superior in ITALY before the end of the campaign, as Don PHILIP,

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LIP, after marching through FRANCE at the head of 30,000 men, had now entered SAVOY, and taken possession of CHAM-BERRY. PHILIP expected to conquer this dutchy, while the King of SARDINIA was opposing MONTEMAR; but, to his great surprize, the Piedmontese, who had left pursuing MONTEMAR, quickly attacked him, and obliged him to retreat to FRANCE.

THE Spaniards, notwithstanding the bad success of their arms, were still bent upon pursuing their ambitious views in ITALY, where they supported their armies at a great expence for several campaigns, the detail of which is of no great importance. The Count de GAGES, and their other generals, instead of having any prospect of making conquests in that country, found themselves every year obliged to struggle with new obstacles; and any flattering successes they met with were more than counterbalanced by the advantages gained by their enemies. Their perseverance in the unsuccessful war in ITALY was chiefly owing to the Queen, who having gained a great ascendancy over her husband, prevailed upon him to sacrifice every thing to procure a settlement for her son PHILIP; and her views were seconded by the prime minister, the Marquis ENSENADA, who having been first raised from an obscure station, by the favour of the Count de GAGES, was very active and zealous in furnishing him with supplies, which, however, were seldom adequate to the necessities of the army.

FORTUNATELY for SPAIN, the attention of the English was also drawn off to an unnational object, which exhausted their revenues, and prevented them from prosecuting the war in AMERICA with any vigour. King GEORGE, who had espoused the cause of the Queen of HUNGARY, not only assisted her by large subsidies, but most imprudently transported his troops to FLANDERS, and maintained a large army on the continent, at an immense expence, while naval armaments were almost wholly neglected. Because one enterprize in AMERICA had proved unsuccessful, the English seemed to conclude, that it would be in vain to hope for success in any other. Admiral VERNON, after his return from CARTHAGENA, made a descent upon CUBA near ST. JAGO; but the
troops-

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troops, instead of attacking that place, were suffered to remain several months inactive in their camp, where the greatest part of them were cut off by sickness.

IN the beginning of this year, a small reinforcement arriving at JAMAICA, Admiral VERNON again sailed for PORTO BELLO, General WENTWORTH, who commanded the land troops, proposing to cross the isthmus, and attack PANAMA: but when they arrived at the Spanish coast, it was agreed, that the enterprise was impracticable. They accordingly sailed back to JAMAICA, and in the end of the year returned to ENGLAND. The Spaniards at St. AUGUSTINE in the mean time had made an attempt upon GEORGIA, with two frigates and 30 other vessels, on board of which were 3000 land-forces: but General OGLETHORPE quickly obliged them to retire.

THE following year, 1743, the Spaniards were so intent upon supporting their arms in ITALY, that they wholly omitted prosecuting the war against ENGLAND, unless by their privateers, who made a great many prizes both in EUROPE and AMERICA. The affairs of the empire in the mean time chiefly engrossed the attention of the English, who marched into GERMANY under the command of the Earl of STAIR; and after King GEORGE had joined them, defeated the French at DETTINGEN on the 27th of June. One of their squadrons, under the command of Commodore KNOWLES, made an attack upon LA GUIRA and PORTO CAVALLLO, two fortresses on the north coast of SOUTH-AMERICA; but were repulsed by the Spaniards with considerable loss.

THE Spaniards were chiefly annoyed by the English squadron in the Mediterranean under Admiral MATTHEWS, who greatly disturbed their trade, and rendered it extremely difficult for them to send supplies to their armies in ITALY. The following year, on the 11th of February, that admiral attacked the Spanish and French fleets united off TOULON; this engagement was prevented from becoming general, by the French declining to come into the line, on one hand, and the backwardness of admiral LESTOCK on the other; but the Spanish ships that engaged were defeated by
the

the English. The Spanish fleet might have been attacked three days after, at a great disadvantage; but a bad understanding that subsisted between the English admirals prevented them from improving the favourable opportunity.

FROM this time nothing very memorable happened relative to the affairs of SPAIN, till the 11th of July, 1746, when PHILIP died at MADRID, in the 63d year of his age, and was succeeded by the only surviving son of his first marriage Don FERDINAND. By his second Queen ELIZABETH of FARNESE, who is still alive, PHILIP left three sons, Don CARLOS, then King of the Two SICILIES. Don PHILIP at present Duke of PARMA and PLACENTIA, and Don LEWIS, who was created archbishop of TOLEDO when an infant, but since has resigned that benefice, and obtained leave to quit the church. Three daughters by the same Queen likewise survived him, MARIA ANNA VICTORIA, at present Queen of PORTUGAL; MARIA THERESA, married the year before to Dauphin; and MARIA ANTONIETTA; MARIA THERESA the Dauphiness died in child-bed, a few days after her father.

FERDINAND VI. who was about 33 years of age, when he ascended the throne, began his reign with several acts of popularity. Among others, he assigned two days in the week to receive in person the petitions and remonstrances of his subjects. He appointed the famous Don JOSEPH DE CARVAJAL Y LANCASTRE his first minister, and soon after published an edict, declaring, that he would fulfil the engagements of his predecessors with his allies. It might rather have been expected at this time, that an alteration would have taken place in the system of the court of SPAIN; for the war in ITALY, which for five years had been very burthenfome, and was plainly an unnational object, was now very unsuccessful; and the war with GREAT BRITAIN seemed to have no other consequence but to interrupt the Spanish commerce, and to heighten the price of English commodities in SPAIN, where they are always much wanted. The Spaniards, this campaign, had been twice defeated in LOMBARDY, with the loss of upwards of 20,000 men killed and prisoners, and had been forced by the Austrians to abandon ITALY, and retire into PROVENCE.

FERDINAND, however, still continued the war, and imputing the disgrace of his arms to the misconduct of the Count de GAGES, recalled him, and gave the command to the Marquis de las MINAS. In the end of the year, indeed, he allowed the chamber of commerce to enter into a private treaty with the English South-Sea company, for supplying the Spanish AMERICA with negroes; but he could not be prevailed upon by the King of PORTUGAL to agree to a separate peace with GREAT BRITAIN. His allies the French, however, suffering greatly the following year, 1747, by the destruction of their fleets, the ruin of their commerce, and a general famine, which induced them to solicit a congress, he also gave his consent for a peace, as it was vain to expect to continue the war with any success, either in ITALY or against GREAT BRITAIN, after the French had laid down their arms.

WHETHER this was agreeable to the Queen Dowager is uncertain; but as she had for several years interfered in the direction of state-affairs, in behalf of her children, to the great prejudice of the kingdom, and had treated him, when Prince of ASTURIAS, in a disrespectful manner, and on many occasions very despitely, FERDINAND now ordered her to leave MADRID, and to reside either at TOLEDO, or VALLADOLID, or BURGOS, or SARAGOÇA; and he also gave orders, that her son Don LEWIS should retire to his diocese.

Soon after, the plenipotentiaries began to assemble at AIX LA CHAPELLE, the place appointed for the congress; and the following year, after they had agreed upon the preliminary articles, a cessation of hostilities was published in the month of May. The definitive treaty was concluded on the 7th of October, and contained twenty-four articles, of which the treaties of WESTPHALIA, MADRID, NIMEGUEN, RYSWICK, UTRECHT, BADEN, LONDON and VIENNA were declared the basis. By this treaty the Queen of HUNGARY ceded to the Infant Don PHILIP the duchies of PARMA, PLACENTIA, and GUASTALLA; but with this reserve, that if PHILIP should die without male issue, or he or his posterity should succeed to the throne of SPAIN or SICILY, those duchies should revert to the house of AUSTRIA. As the King of

SAR-

SARDINIA had some pretensions to PLACENTIA and the PLACENTINE, his cession was likewise necessary, which he gave in the amplest manner; on this condition, however, that the territory should again revert to him, if PHILIP should die without male issue, or his brother Don CARLOS succeed to the crown of SPAIN. At this day, therefore, the treaty is plainly violated by PHILIP, in regard to the King of SARDINIA, tho' not in regard to the Empress Queen; for though Don PHILIP has not succeeded to the throne of NAPLES, yet Don CARLOS has succeeded to the throne of SPAIN. Thus the foundation of a new war is already laid in ITALY, as it is not to be expected, that the King of SARDINIA will without expressing his resentment suffer himself to be robbed of his right; and perhaps the Empress Queen will also look upon herself as injured, as the clause of reversion of those duchies was the same, in the preliminary articles, in regard to AUSTRIA as SARDINIA. By other articles of the definitive treaty, the King of SARDINIA, the Republic of GENOA, and the Duke of MODENA were reinstated in their former possessions; and the assiento, or contract for negroes with the English merchants, was granted for four years, as an equivalent for the same number of years which had been interrupted by the war.

BUT not the least mention was made in the treaty of the right claimed by the Spanish guarda-costas, of searching foreign ships that approach their American colonies, nor of their privilege of fishing on the banks of NEWFOUNDLAND, nor of their exclusive right to the Bay of CAMPEACHY, where the English had formed settlements before the year 1670. These disputed points, which had too precipitately hurried the Spanish and British nations into a war, were now referred, with some others of less consequence, to be settled amicably by commissaries. If the national interest on both sides had been equitably consulted, the differences might easily have been adjusted in that manner before the war; but each nation, from narrow views, had wanted solely to engross certain advantages, which it claimed as peculiar to itself, tho' a mutual communication of them would have been no detriment to either.

THE peace of A'X-LA-CHAPELLE seemed to have restored tranquillity to EUROPE: FERDINAND, nevertheless, still kept up all his land-forces, and gave orders for augmenting his marine with the utmost diligence. The Marquis de ENSENADA, who was now prime-minister, being sensible of the great prejudice the Spanish commerce sustained by the clandestine trade carried on by foreigners with their colonies, gave orders for guarding the American coasts more strictly than ever. These orders being obeyed with the utmost vigilance, were not only disagreeable to the trading nations of EUROPE, but to the Spanish colonists themselves, who, the following year, rose in arms in the province of CARACCAS, obliged the Spanish troops to retire into the fort of LA GUIRA, and declared for a freedom of commerce. Upon the news of this insurrection 1500 men were embarked at CADIZ, who, upon their arrival at AMERICA, were so successful as to quell the rebellion.

FERDINAND, in the mean time, applied his chief attention to regulate the internal policy of his kingdom, and inspire his subjects with a spirit of industry. He particularly aimed at promoting and encouraging agriculture, the truest source of the riches of a state possessing an extensive territory; he granted charters for establishing manufactures of fine woollen cloth, and gave great encouragement to some English ship-carpenters and weavers, who had been tempted to go and settle in SPAIN; he ordered no less than 20,000 vagrants to be apprehended in the different provinces, and to be employed in tillage and country improvements; and in the end of summer, he opened the communication between the two CASTILES, by a fine road, forty-six miles in length, on which were no less than 283 aqueducts, and 7 bridges of fine architecture, the whole being begun and finished in five months, under the direction of the Marquis de ENSENADA. The King was enabled to prosecute his designs by the immense wealth which at this time poured into SPAIN; for as the English, towards the end of the war, had acted with great vigour at sea, the colonists waited for a peace, before they would embark their treasure for EUROPE, and it now arrived to a great amount, and likewise during the two following years.

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THE Spanish and British commissaries, in the mean time, were employed in negotiating the disputed points betwixt the two courts, which were at length finally settled by a treaty concluded at MADRID on the 5th of October 1750. By this treaty the King of GREAT BRITAIN gave up his claim to the four remaining years of the asiento-contract, and to all debts the King of SPAIN owed to the English company on that account, for an equivalent of 100,000 l. sterl. His Catholic Majesty engaged to require from British subjects trading in his ports, no higher duties than they paid in the time of CHARLES II. of SPAIN, and to allow the same subjects to take salt on the island of TORTUGA. All former treaties were confirmed, and the two princes promised to abolish all innovations that appeared to have been introduced into the reciprocal commerce of both nations. These innovations, however, not being specified, it was the same thing as if no mention had been made of them at all. Thus the most material differences being suffered to remain undecided, most unhappily gave rise to another war; whereas, if the controverted claims had been clearly and candidly discussed, and the differences settled by a friendly communication of mutual advantages, which no ways excluded precision and distinctness as to the extent of those advantages, the two nations might have lived in amity without interruption, and thereby promoted each other's prosperity. Tho' gold be the idol of traders, yet it is far from always contributing to render a state flourishing and happy; and if the English merchants shall violate treaties in search of it, it would be more for the honour and interest of this nation to punish the offenders, than to enter into a new war in their defence.

THE remaining years of FERDINAND's reign, after the signing of the treaty of MADRID, were very barren of events. The English court were jealous of his attempts to introduce the woollen manufacture in SPAIN, and reclaimed their workmen in that branch, who had passed over thither. New disputes likewise arose betwixt them, on account of the English trafficking with the Indians of the Moskito-shore, who had never submitted to SPAIN, and claimed to act as a free nation. FERDINAND, at the same time, had the mortification to find it impossible to introduce a spirit of industry among his subjects, the favours and encouragements of the court

being like rain falling upon a sandy defart, where there was not a seed or plant to be enlivened by it. In the year 1754, the marquis de ENSENADA was unexpectedly disgraced, and the department of the INDIES, one of the places he enjoyed, was conferred on Don RICHARD WALL, secretary of state for foreign affairs, who had lately returned from an embassy in ENGLAND. About two years after, a war breaking out betwixt GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE, FERDINAND declared, on that occasion, that he would adhere to the strictest neutrality; but he was far from observing the neutrality he professed, and partially favoured FRANCE in a great number of instances.

HIS queen dying in the end of the year 1758, he was so affected with grief, that he entirely abandoned himself to gloom and melancholy; and neglecting both exercise and food, threw himself into a dangerous distemper, which, after preying upon him for several months, put a period to his life the year following, on the 10th of AUGUST. As FERDINAND left no issue, he was succeeded by his brother, Don CARLOS, King of the Two SICILIES, who resigned that kingdom, and disjoined it from the monarchy of SPAIN by a solemn deed, in favour of his third son, Don FERDINAND; setting aside his eldest son on account of his weakness of mind or idiocy, and reserving his second son for the succession of SPAIN. Don CARLOS, or CHARLES, arrived in SPAIN in the month of NOVEMBER, and soon after entered MADRID in great pomp and ceremony.

IT would neither be prudent nor decent in me to enlarge on the transactions of the present reign, those particularly relating to GREAT-BRITAIN, which are recent in every one's memory. I shall only observe, that whoever will peruse the letters lately laid before the parliament, relating to SPAIN, will plainly perceive the candour of the court of GREAT-BRITAIN, and the ability of her ministers; and that the SPANIARDS artfully, and with the greatest injustice, sought a rupture, for which they have since paid very dear, by being obliged to desist from their pretensions to a fishery at NEWFOUNDLAND, and likewise to cede to us all FLORIDA, and to allow us to cut logwood in the Bay of CAMPEACHY.

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An account of the Ambassadors, Ministers, and Envoys, from the Court of GREAT-BRITAIN to the Court of SPAIN, from the year 1600 to the breaking out of the present war, with the titles of the Treaties and Conventions during that period. The treaties prior to that, may be found in the Corps Diplomat. tom. IV.

Kings of GREAT-BRITAIN and SPAIN.	Ambassadors.	Treaties ; years.	Where signed, and by whom.
JAMES I. PHILIP III.	Earl of NOTTINGHAM and Sir CHARLES CORNWALLIS, the latter left ambassador, 1605.	August, 1604.	LONDON. Earl of DORSET. VELASCO, &c.
	Sir JOHN DIGBY, ambassador, 1618. See <i>Rushworth</i> .		
	Sir WALTER ASTON, 1620.		
	Lord DIGBY, ambassador extraordinary, 1621.		
	Prince CHARLES, Duke of BUCKINGHAM, Earl of BRISTOL, employed in negotiating the Spanish match, which had been then seven years in agitation. N. B. See an account of this match at the end of this list.	April, 1622.	
PHILIP IV.	Sir WALTER ASTON, ambassador, 1623.	Concerning the Palatinate, 1623.	

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Kings of GREAT-BRITAIN and SPAIN.	Ambassadors.	Treaties; years.	Where signed, and by whom.
CHARLES I. of GR. BRITAIN.	Sir FRAN. COTTINGTON, ambassador.	November, 1630.	MADRID. COTTINGTON. COLONA, DE ROSAS, PHILIP.
	Mr. FANSHAW, resident.	1643. Cedulas granted to ENGLAND, March 1645. See the <i>British Merchant</i> , v. iii.	
The Protector.	Mr. ASCHAM, envoy, killed in his lodgings at MADRID, by some English cavaliers.	May, 1653.	
CHARLES II. of GR. BRITAIN, during his exile.		A league, 1657 *.	
	Lord CLARENDON. Lord COTTINGTON †.		
CHARLES II. of GR. BRITAIN, restored.	Sir RICHARD FANSHAW, 1662 ‡.		

* This was a league made between CHARLES II. of ENGLAND, and the Archduke LEOPOLD, Governor of the LOW COUNTRIES, which gave King CHARLES liberty to reside at BRUSSELS, with the promise of 6000 men, 6000 livres pension, and 3000 to the Duke of YORK. An amazing treaty to be made by a poor and banished Monarch.

† They stayed two years, but effected nothing; and were at last sent away, lest they should see the pictures which formerly belonged to CHARLES I. of ENGLAND, and had been bought by the Spanish ambassador.

‡ He died at MADRID, 1666. The letters and papers relating to his embassy were printed in octavo, LONDON, 1702.

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Kings of GREAT-BRITAIN and SPAIN.	Ambassadors.	Treaties; years.	Where signed, and by whom.
CHARLES II. of SPAIN.	Earl of SANDWICH, 1665.	Treaty of May 23, 1667 *.	MADRID. SANDWICH. NIDHARD. D'ONATA, PENNERANDA.
	Sir WILLIAM GODOLPHIN, ambassador in 1668 †.	Treaty of July 8, 1670. ‡	MADRID. PENNERANDA. GODOLPHIN.
		League of 1680:	WINDSOR. D. PEDRO DE RONQUILLO. SUNDERLAND. Lord HYDE. JENKINS. GODOLPHIN.
JAMES II. of GR. BRITAIN.	None.		
WILLIAM III. of GREAT-BRITAIN.	Count SCHONENBERGH, minister from GREAT-BRITAIN and the STATES GENERAL, 1699. §		

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* This treaty was contrived by Sir WILLIAM GODOLPHIN, then secretary of the embassy, and has been the basis of all the treaties since.

† This gentleman continued at MADRID many years after his embassy expired, and died there in 1696, leaving an estate of 80,000 pounds sterling. The heirs were cheated out of the greatest part of it, which went to found the church of St. George in MADRID. See *Cole's Memoirs*, p. 20. He died a Roman Catholic. During the Popish plot, the house of Commons addressed the King to recal him, as he was accused by OATES of being concerned in that plot; but he did not chuse to venture himself home.

‡ This is the American treaty, and the only one we have for settling disputes there. It chiefly relates to the freedom of our navigation to the Spanish West India-Main; but is not confirmed by the treaty of 1750. That point remains still unsettled.

§ His name was BELMONT: he had been agent for the Prince of ORANGE before the Revolution, and was by no means acceptable to that court. From a letter

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Kings of GREAT-BRITAIN and SPAIN.	Ambassadors.	Treaties; years.	Where signed, and by whom.
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ALEXANDER
STANHOPE, envoy,
1699.*

Queen ANNE of
GR. BRITAIN.
CHARLES and
PHILIP, contend-
ers for the crown
of SPAIN.

Earl of PETER-
BOROUGH, ambaf-
sador extraordinary,
1706.
General STAN-
HOPE, envoy ex-
traordinary, 1706.
Both to King
CHARLES of
SPAIN. †

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ter of his, to the Earl of MANCHESTER, dated September 23, 1700, in which he mentions a memorial he gave to the Spanish ministers, both in the name of the King his master, and of the States, I conclude that he acted as English minister after Mr. STANHOPE left MADRID.

* He was ten years in SPAIN in a private character; but was soon recalled from his public one, because the court of GREAT-BRITAIN had desired the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis de CANALES, to leave LONDON, on account of an insolent memorial delivered to the Lords Justices, September, 1699.

† General STANHOPE, taking advantage of the broken state of King CHARLES's affairs, concluded with the Count d' OROPEZA, Prince LICHTENSTEIN, and the Count de CORDOVA, Admiral of ARRAGON, his plenipotentiaries, a treaty of commerce, which, had that Prince gained possession of the crown of SPAIN, would soon have indemnified ENGLAND for the expence we were at on his account. The substance of the treaty was,

1. A sincere peace between the two crowns.
2. All treaties of friendship and commerce renewed, and all royal cedulas and privileges formerly granted, particularly those of PHILIP IV. confirmed by the treaty of May, 1667.
3. All prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty, without ransom.
4. All merchandize brought into SPAIN by the subjects of GREAT BRITAIN, for which custom, under the name of consumption, or other tolls, are usually demanded, shall not pay such toll till six months after unlading, or sale and delivery.
5. The subjects of GREAT BRITAIN may bring into SPAIN the produce of the dominions of MOROCCO, and shall not pay greater duties than usual.
6. Books of rates, containing an exact account of the customs agreed on, by the commissioners from the Queen of GREAT BRITAIN and the King of SPAIN, shall be adjusted and established within a year after the signing of this treaty, and be published thro' all the Spanish dominions; nor shall the British subjects be obliged to pay greater duties than what is therein set down; and for all other goods not mentioned in those tables, the rate of 7 per cent.

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Kings of GREAT BRITAIN and SPAIN.	Ambassadors.	Treaties; years.	Where signed, and by whom.
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Queen ANNE of GREAT BRITAIN. CHARLES and PHILIP, contend- ers for the crown of SPAIN.	Mr. WALPOLE, in 1707, brought from SPAIN a trea- ty of commerce, probably that above mentioned. <i>Cole's</i> <i>Mem.</i> p. 472.
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cent. shall be demanded on the credit of the instrument, declaring the charge and prices of the merchandize and goods, which shall be exhibited by the merchant or factor, confirmed by witnesses on oath. '7. All prize goods, taken by the Queen's ships of war, or privateers, shall be esteemed as goods the produce of GREAT BRITAIN. 8. The Queen of GREAT BRITAIN and the King of SPAIN shall ratify these articles within ten weeks.

To this treaty was annexed a secret article, whereby it was agreed, that a company of commerce to the INDIES should be formed, consisting of the subjects of GREAT BRITAIN and SPAIN, in the dominions of the crown of SPAIN in the INDIES. The forming of this company was reserved till his Catholick Majesty should be in possession of the crown of SPAIN: but, in case unforeseen accidents should prevent the forming such company, his Catholic Majesty obliged himself and successors to grant to the British subjects the same privileges and liberty of a free trade to the INDIES, which the Spanish subjects enjoyed, a previous security being given for the payment of the royal duties. His Catholic Majesty likewise obliged himself, that from the day of the general peace, to the day the said company of commerce should be formed, he would give licence to the British subjects to send to the INDIES annually ten ships, of 300 tons each, provided that they pay all the royal duties, and be registered in such port of SPAIN as his Catholic Majesty should appoint; and give security to return from the INDIES to the same port of SPAIN, without touching elsewhere. That his Catholic Majesty would likewise permit the said ten ships of trade to be conveyed by British ships of war, provided the said ships of war do not trade: And that he would not demand any *indulto* or donative on account of the said trade, contenting himself with the royal duties only. And the Queen of GREAT BRITAIN promised, that the said ships of war should, in going to, and returning from the INDIES, convoy the ships of his Catholic Majesty: And his Catholic Majesty engaged never to permit the subjects of FRANCE to be concerned in the said company of commerce, nor in any wise to trade to the INDIES.

After the signing of this treaty, King CHARLES was made sensible, that the concessions granted therein to the English were such as would not easily pass with his own subjects, should he ever be possessed of the SPANISH throne; and therefore it was not without reluctance, and merely in compliance with the necessity of his affairs, that he ratified the articles of it, on the 9th of January 1708, six months after

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Kings of GREAT BRITAIN and SPAIN.	Ambassadors.	Treaties; years.	Where signed, and by whom.
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Queen ANNE of GREAT BRITAIN.	Mr. CRAGGS, secretary in SPAIN in 1708. <i>Id.</i> p. 544.
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CHARLES and PHILIP, contend- ers for the crown of SPAIN.	Duke of AR- GYLE, ambassador, plenipotentiary and general in SPAIN, 1710.
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Lord LEXING-
TON arrived at
MADRID, 1712,
to take PHILIP'S
renunciation of
the succession of
FRANCE.

Convention,
March 1713.

MADRID.
LEXINGTON,
BEDMAR.

Affiento, 1713*.

MADRID.
LEXINGTON,
ESCALERA.

General Pacifica-
tion, July 1713†.

UTRECHT.
J. BRISTOL,
Duke D'OSSUNA.
MONTELEON.

it was signed. The person who was entrusted to carry this treaty to LONDON having embarked at BARCELONA, on board a small vessel for GENOA, was unluckily taken by a French frigate: the express, as is usual in such cases, threw his dispatches over-board; but they were taken up by some divers, and transmitted to the Marquis de TORCY at VERSAILLES, who took care to send privately a copy of the treaty to the States General, in order to excite their jealousy of the English, who were endeavouring, by that transaction, to engross the trade to the WEST INDIES. See *Tindal's Continuation of Rapin*, Vol. 4 B. 26.

* This contract (for *Affiento* in Spanish signifies a contract) was to commence May 1713, and end in 1743. It was a source of iniquity, and a deposit in the hands of the Spaniards for our good conduct, to seize on at pleasure.

† By this treaty King PHILIP yielded *for ever* to GREAT BRITAIN, GIBRALTAR and MINORCA.

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Kings of GREAT BRITAIN and SPAIN.	Ambassadors.	Treaties; years.	Where signed, and by whom.
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GEORGE I. of GREAT BRITAIN.	BENSON, lord BINGLEY, ambas- sador, 1713.		
PHILIP V. of SPAIN.			

Sir PAUL ME-
THUEN, October
1714.

Mr. CRAGGS, Mr. BUBB, mi- nisters, December 1715.	Treaty, Decem- ber 1715 †.	MADRID. BEDMAR, GEORGE BUBB.
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	Convention for explaining the Af- fiento, May 1716.	MADRID. BEDMAR, GEORGE BUBB.
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JOHN CHET-
WYND, envoy ex-
traordinary, 1717.

WILL. STAN- HOPE, envoy, 1718.	Treaty of 1718.	H A G U E. Lord CADOGAN. Marquis de PRIE.
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Colonel STAN- HOPE, minister, 1720.	Treaty, June 1721 *.	MADRID. STANHÖPE. GRIMALDI.
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‡ This treaty is very short, contains little new, confirms the former, but revokes the three articles so injurious to GREAT BRITAIN, which were tacked to the treaty of UTRECHT, and called *explanatory*. These were the III. V. and VIII.

† This settled the restitution of the ships taken by lord TORRINGTON and Sir GEORGE WALTON in 1718. The Spaniards are perpetually objecting to us, the injustice and illegality of that measure of attacking their fleet in the time of profound peace, and without any declaration of war; but those who will take the trouble to peruse CORBET's account of that matter, will find that Sir GEORGE BING sent an officer to the Spanish minister, to acquaint him with the design and destination of his fleet; and that the minister sent him word back, that he might go and execute whatever commission the king his master had given him. See also, for the same purpose, *the memoirs of the Marquis ST. PHILIP*.

xliv HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

Kings of GREAT BRITAIN and SPAIN.	Ambassadors.	Treaties; years.	Where signed, and by whom.
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BENJ. KEENE,
esq; (afterwards Sir
BENJAM. KEENE,
knight of the
BATH) was ap-
pointed his Maje-
sty's consul at MA-
DRID, March 1724.

He was appoint-
ed his Majesty's
minister plenipoten-
tiary to the King of
SPAIN, Aug. 1727.

GEORGE II.
PHILIP V.

BEN. KEENE, A.
STURT, JOS. GOD-
DARD, commissa-
ries.

Convention,
May 1728.

P A R D O:
STANHOPE,
KEENE,
M. de la PAZ,
D. J. PATINHO.

Col. STANHOPE,
Lord HARRING-
TON.

Treaties of 1729
and 1731*.

S E V I L L E.
STANHOPE.

Treaty of 1731.

VIENNA.
Duke of LIRIA.
Sir THOMAS RO-
BINSON.

BEN. KEENE,
envoy, 1733.

He was appoint-
ed his Majesty's en-
voy extraordinary
to the King of
PORTUGAL, May
1745.

* These two treaties related to the neutral garrisons in ITALY, and were owing to our being tired of the congress at SOISSONS. The quadruple alliance stipulated, that *Swiss*, and not *Spanish* troops, should be sent into ITALY, to maintain Don CARLOS; but the treaties of SEVILLE changed it for Spanish, and not Swiss troops. That is to say, the court of SPAIN carried its point.

Kings

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION. xlv

Kings of GREAT BRITAIN, and SPAIN.	Ambassadors.	Treaties; years.	Where signed, and by whom.
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He was appointed his Majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the King of SPAIN, October 1748.

WILL. FINCH;
brother to the Earl
of WINCHELSEA,
envoy extraordinary,
1732.

	Convention of 1739*.	P A R D O: M. de VILLARIAS. Sir BEN. KEENE.
FERDINAND VI. of SPAIN.	Treaty of 1748 †.	AIX LA CHA- PELLE.
	Treaty of 1750 ‡.	M A D R I D. FERD. ENSENA- DA. Sir BEN. KEENE.
	Sir B. KEENE died.	

* The Affiento suspended at this time. The balance between ENGLAND and SPAIN was 96,000 pounds; but the secret article took away 36,000 pounds. The difference could not be adjusted, and the war broke out.

† By the tenth article of the preliminaries, and the XVI. of this treaty, ENGLAND was to be paid 100,000 pounds reimbursement, and the right to the remaining four years of the Affiento was settled; but it was afterwards sold by a convention, and occasioned the treaty of 1750.

‡ In this the 100,000 pounds were again settled and agreed on, the *explanatory* articles of the treaty of UTRECHT again abolished, and the Affiento and the annual ship given up. All former treaties confirmed.

Kings of GREAT BRITAIN and SPAIN.	Ambassadors.	Treaties; years.	Where signed, and by whom.
CHARLES III. of SPAIN.	His Excellency the right honourable		
GEORGE II. and GEORGE III. of GREAT BRITAIN.	GEORGE WIL- LIAM, earl of BRI- STOL, ambassador extraordinary, and minister plenipoten- tiary from his BRI- TANIC Majesty to the court of MA- DRID †.		



An ACCOUNT of the SPANISH MATCH.

HERE it may not be improper to give a short account of that strange affair, the *Spanish Match*; because the court of SPAIN hath been frequently charged with the breaking off that matter; but in the following relation, extracted from Mr. *Howell's Letters*, who was upon the spot at that time, it will appear probable that the fault lay on the other side, and not at PHILIP's, but King JAMES's door.

In December 1622, Lord DIGBY and Sir WALTER ASTON went out joint ambassadors under the great seal of ENGLAND, especially commissioned about the *Spanish Match*; Mr. HOWELL, afterwards clerk of the council, soon followed their Excellencies; Mr. GEORGE GAGE came likewise from ROME to MADRID, to treat about it. The match was first set on foot by the Duke of LERMA, but was not so warmly adopted by his successor the Count d'OLIVAREZ. GONDOMAR at this time left ENGLAND,

† He arrived there, September 8th, 1758, and left that court, December 17th, 1761, without taking leave, because his Catholic Majesty did not chuse to give an explicit answer to the court of GREAT BRITAIN, but only said, *Muy bien esta*, (*Very well, Sir*) on which the rupture ensued.

returned to MADRID, and brought with him Lord DIGBY's patent, that made him Earl of BRISTOL. The business of the match went on very briskly for near four months, when, to the surprize of the Earl of BRISTOL, who knew nothing of the matter and of every one else at MADRID, the Prince of WALES, and the Marquis of BUCKINGHAM, arrived on the latter end of March 1622, at the Earl of BRISTOL's house, late in the evening. The Prince went by the feigned name of THOMAS SMITH, and the Marquis by that of Mr. JOHN SMITH.—They were attended by the Lords CARLISLE, HOLLAND, ROCHFORD, DENBIGH, the Knights Sir FRANCIS COTTINGTON, Sir LEWIS DIVES, Sir JOHN VAUGHAN of the GOLDEN GROVE, and his son, comptroller to the Prince, Sir EDMUND VARNEY, Mr. WASHINGTON page to the Prince, Mr. PORTER, and others.

THE arrival of the Prince of WALES in MADRID was like the rest of his father's politics, and instead of forwarding the match, marred the whole business. The Spaniards having such a pledge in their hands, rose in their demands, and thought they had it in their power to *treat* just as they pleased. Besides this, the Spanish court took a disgust at BUCKINGHAM, and he and the Earl of BRISTOL disagreed extremely about the conduct of that business. The nobility in SPAIN were very much averse to this alliance; the Bishop of SEGOVIA wrote against it, but was banished from court for so doing; the common people in SPAIN were strongly for it. In ENGLAND, the parliament and commons would never consent to it.

Upon the arrival of the Prince, the court of SPAIN sent back the dispensation to the court of ROME, in order to be better modelled. When the dispensation was returned to MADRID, it came back clogged with new clauses: the Pope required a caution to be given for the performance of the articles: this made a difficulty: the King of SPAIN, however, offered to give the caution, but desired to consult his divines upon it, who, after a tedious debate, gave his Majesty permission. Upon this, the King of SPAIN and the Prince mutually swore to, and ratified the articles of marriage; and the 8th of September following, 1623, was fixed for the betrothing her to him. But soon after, *Pope Gregory*, who was

a friend to the match, died, and *Urban* succeeded; whereupon PHILIP declared, he could not proceed in the match unless the new Pope confirmed the dispensation which was given by the former. This created fresh delays; the Prince remonstrated warmly, and insisted on the necessity of his departure. The King of SPAIN consented to his going, provided he would leave him and Don CARLOS *proxies* for the match: this was accordingly agreed on: and thus the Prince, after seven months stay, and a fruitless errand, set out for ENGLAND in the month of August 1623, without his Infanta. The Lord RUTLAND waited for him at sea with the fleet, on board of which he embarked at BILBOA. The Infanta in particular, and the Spaniards in general, were very much afflicted at this Prince's returning without her. The King of SPAIN and his two brothers accompanied him as far as the ESCURIAL, and on the spot where they parted PHILIP erected a pillar, which remains to this day. The Prince, in his passage, very narrowly escaped shipwreck, Sir SACKVILLE TREVOR having the honour of taking him up.

NOTWITHSTANDING this abrupt departure of the Prince, the ENGLISH at MADRID, and at home, were still persuaded the match would be effected at last; and not without good grounds; for the Infanta learned English, took the title of the Princess of WALES; the ladies and officers that were to go with her were named. But there was one very extraordinary circumstance, which happened at this juncture: The Prince of Wales, just before he embarked, sent a letter to the two ambassadors, desiring them, in case the ratification came from ROME, not to deliver the proxies he had left in their hands to the King of SPAIN, till they had heard further orders from ENGLAND.—But this both the ambassadors very wisely refused to do, as the Prince could not suspend their commission from King JAMES under the great seal of ENGLAND; on the contrary, they both made extraordinary preparations for the match, the Earl of BRISTOL laying out 2400 pounds in liveries only, upon that occasion. At length the ratification came from ROME; the marriage day was appointed; but just a day or two before it drew on, there came *four* English messengers to the Earl of BRISTOL, commanding him not to deliver the proxies till full satisfaction was made for

the surrender of the Palatinate. This step of King JAMES's put an entire end to the business of the match. The King of SPAIN said very truly, that the Palatinate was none of his to give; but that he would send ambassadors to recover it by treaty, or an army to regain it by force; and in proof of his sincerity in these promises, he offered to pledge his Contratation-house at SEVILLE, and his Plate fleet. This not being thought satisfactory, the Earl of BRISTOL took his leave, when the King of SPAIN gave him a ring off his own finger, and plate to the value of above 4000 pounds. This Earl of BRISTOL, by far the most eminent of the DIGBY family, was a very extraordinary character, and a truly great man; he surprized the Spaniards with his virtues as well as talents: the rewards and honours paid him by PHILIP were but equal to his deserts; for he even astonished that Prince, when he found, that neither the bribes of one monarch, nor the menaces of another, could in the least shake the steady temper of that ambassador.

THUS ended the affair of the Spanish match, that had been near ten years in agitation. It is certain, that the breaking of it off was the work of the Duke of BUCKINGHAM: whether he did right or wrong will now perhaps be difficult to say; but I am of opinion, that we could not have been so much prejudiced by having MARIA of SPAIN for our Queen, as we were afterwards by taking HENRIETTA of FRANCE. The women of the MEDICIS line do not appear to me to have done the world much good. As for the deserted Infanta, she married afterward to the Emperor.

E R R A T A.

In the Introduction, p. 27. for *timeously*, read *timely*. Last line, for CAMPEACHY, read HONDURAS. P. 221. l. 1. for *El Aventurarara*, read *La Aventurarara*. Ib. l. 19. for *El Venganza*, read *La Venganza*. P. 220. l. 21. for *El Nueva*, read *La Nueva*. P. 214. l. 20. for *Estramadura*, read *Estremadura*. P. 208. l. 16. for *struck*, read *stuck*. P. 198. l. 4. for 1661, read 1061. P. 188. l. 12. for *called them*, read *called him*. Dele the Note at bottom. P. 182. last line but one, for LICINIUS LARIUS, read LARTIUS LICINIUS. P. 295. for BAGER, read BAYER. P. 297. for *eundem*, read *eandem*. P. 300. for *Gbaldic*, read *Chaldee*. Ib. for *Clevard*, read *Glenard*. Ib. for *Vergera*, read *Vergara*. P. 303. for *Honoretes*, read *Honoratus*.

L E T T E R I.

JOURNEY from LONDON to MADRID.

I LEFT LONDON, in company with two other gentlemen, on Saturday the 10th of *May*, 1760, set sail from FALMOUTH on the 20th, and arrived at CORUNNA on the 26th of the same month.

THE harbour of CORUNNA presents you with a fine prospect as you sail into it; on your right are *The Tower of HERCULES*, the fort, and the town; before you the shipping; all terminated by an agreeable view of the country: On your left you see CAPE PRIOR, the entrance of FERROLL, and a ridge of barren mountains, with a large river running between them. CORUNNA is well built and populous, but, like most other Spanish towns, has an offensive smell. Their method of keeping the tiles fast, on the roofs of houses, is by laying loose stones upon them. The Spaniards, to my great mortification, have quitted that old dress, which looks so well on our English stage: The men wear a great flapped hat, a cloke reaching down to their feet, and a sword, generally carried under the arm: The women wear a short jacket of one colour, a petticoat of another, and either a white or black woolen veil. We stayed at CORUNNA a whole week, because we could not procure a vehicle to convey us to MADRID, nearer than from MADRID itself: Nor could we travel on the streight road to ASTORGA by any other convenient method, than riding on mules or horses, for we rejected the *litter*, as disagreeable and fatiguing, and no other carriage could pass the mountains that way: We wrote therefore to MADRID for a coach to meet us at ASTORGA, which is about 150 miles from CORUNNA.

JOURNEY FROM LONDON

THE Spaniards call the Tower of HERCULES by a wrong name: It is amazing, when the *inscription* still remains as an evidence, that it was the Tower of MARS, that they should be so perverse as to give it to HERCULES. The words are:

MARTI. AVG.
SACR.
C. SEVIUS. LVPVS.
ARCHITECTVS.
A. F. DANIENSIS.
LVSITANVS. EXVL.

It is very plain, that the *Romans* intended this for a watch-house, or *speculum*, and the *Spaniards* use it as a light-house now.

THE poorer sort, both men and women, at CORUNNA, wear neither shoes nor stockings. We lodged at the best inn; but all inns throughout SPAIN afford miserable accommodations: It was kept by an Irishman named OBRIEN. We were well entertained by the Spanish Governor DON LOUIS DE CORDOUVA, and the English consul Mr. JORDAN. The town is pretty, and supplied with water by an *aqueduct*. Our route from CORUNNA to ASTORGA and MADRID was as follows:

ROUTE FROM CORUNNA TO MADRID.

		Leagues*
To PATANSOS,	First day,	— 3
JETERIS,	} Second day,	— 5
VAMONDE,		— 2
LUGO,	} Third day,	— 4
GALLEGO,		— 6
FUENFRIA,	} Fourth day,	— 4
SERRARIAS,		— 5
		—
	Carried over,	— 29
		Brought

T O M A D R I D.

3

	Brought over,	Leagues 29
VILLA FRANCA,	} Fifth day,	— 4
PONFERRADA,		— 4
RAVANAL,	} Sixth day,	— 6
ASTORGA,		— 3
		<hr/>
		Leagues, 46
From ASTORGA to BANEZA,	} Seventh day,	— 4
TO LA VENTA,		— 3
TO BENEVENTE,	} Eighth day,	— 3
TO VILLALPANDO,		— 5
TO VILLAPRAIS,	} Ninth day,	— 4
TO VEJA,		— 3
TO MEDINA DEL CAMPO,	} Tenth day,	— 6
TO ARTIQUENES,		— 3
TO OVEJA,	} Eleventh day,	— 5
TO LABAJOS,		— 3
TO ESPINAL,	} Twelfth day,	— 5
TO GUADARAMA,		— 3
TO LAS ROSAS,	} Thirteenth day,	— 6
TO MADRID,		— 3
		<hr/>
		Leagues 102

THE extent of this ROUTE is called 450 miles; but their computation by leagues is very uncertain, like the miles in CORNWALL, guessed at from one town to another. The only way to know the true distance in SPAIN is by your watch. The *Spanish* league is computed equal to about three miles and three quarters *English*.

WE set out from CORUNNA the 3d of June, being honoured with a discharge of guns from the packets in the harbour. You must carry your provisions and bedding with you in SPAIN, as you are not sure of finding them in all places. We seldom met with any thing to eat upon the road, or a bed fit to lie upon. After having passed the fertile mountains of GALLICIA, and the barren rocks of LEON, we came to ASTORGA the 8th of June.

Here we rested till the 11th, and then sat out in a clumsy coach, drawn by six mules, with *ropes* instead of *traces*: This surprised me at first, but I found afterwards, that the *grandees*, and people of rank in MADRID, use ropes constantly at the *Prado* and *Promenade*, places of airing somewhat resembling the old ring in *Hyde Park*.

AFTER passing over the immense plains of OLD and NEW CASTILE, which seem more like seas than plains, we arrived at MADRID the 18th of June, being the 7th day from our leaving ASTORGA. Though we travelled so long a tract of country, we saw few cities or towns, that were considerable for their extent, strength, riches, manufactures, or inhabitants. VILLA FRANCA in LEON is extremely beautiful, and stands high; PONTERRADA neat, anciently called *intra fluvios*, because it was between the rivers SIL and BOEGA, afterwards stiled *Pons Ferratus*, from its bridge on the hard rock. MEDINO DEL CAMPO in CASTILE is an agreeable situation; there is a large square in the middle of it, and some of the nobility reside there.

LUGO in GALICIA is a remarkable ancient city, surrounded with a most singular fortification; as near as I could judge, a square; and at the distance of about every twenty feet a circular *bastion* of thick and lofty walls: The city fortified on every side in the same manner, having rather a tremendous appearance, and must have been extremely strong, before the use of that villainous *saltpetre*, as SHAKESPEARE calls it. It stands near the source of the MINHO; the turnips here are said to be so large, as to weigh fifty pounds each: But who can believe it? Its ancient name was *Lucus Augusti*, and thence corruptly called LUGO.

THE city of ASTORGA in LEON is situated in a wide plain; the most remarkable thing in it is the *Cathedral*, which is a noble Gothic building; a *basilica*, consisting of six pointed arches, supported by tall, light, neat pillars, in a good taste; the portal a large round arch, with a vast number of mouldings; there are seven or eight fine altars, but the *High Altar* is exceedingly magnificent;

nificent ; it consists of twenty compartments of marble-sculpture in alto relievo, the figures as large as life ; the subject the history of our SAVIOUR ; at the summit God the Father crowning the Blessed Virgin. The *glory* is well expressed ; for being cut through the frame, and a lamp placed behind it, the light shews the *rays*. We happened to attend at the Vespers ; the music of the organ was fine ; the number of tapers, the richness of altars, in short, the whole scene was striking. This city gives the title of *Marquis* to the family of *Osfrio*, inferior to few, either for antiquity or valour.

BENEVENTE in LEON is encompassed by three rivers, and remarkable for little more than giving the title of Earl to the family of PIMENTEL. VILLALPANDO is in a pleasing plain, has a large square, and contains a palace of the *Constable of Castile*, to whom the town belongs. The only river we passed of note was a branch of the MINHO ; a noble current, almost as broad as the Thames at Windsor, and to appearance deep ; finely wooded on each side, the trees larger and taller than you usually meet with in SPAIN. The place where we passed it was called HOSPITAL DE *Eschemoso*.

THE *storks* nests upon the tops of the *churches*, with the birds hovering over them, or just peeping out, are pleasing as you pass. It was so in old ROME : The *storks* built their nests in great numbers on the summits of their *temples*, as their poets often tell us. —Thus JUVENAL says of the Temple of *Concord* :

Quæque salutato crepitat *Concordia* nido.

It was cruel to kill such social birds as these ; and yet we find by HORACE, that the Epicures of his times could not keep their knives from them ; though it was an absolute violation of hospitality. Speaking of the luxurious dishes of those days, he says, their ancestors never eat *turbots* nor *storks* :

Tutus erat *rhombus*, tutoque *ciconia* nido.

This bird is often mentioned in Scripture. In the Psalms,---*The fir-trees are a dwelling for the stork* : And in JOB ; *Who giveth the stork*

stork food? She buildeth her nest on high. It delights in the most lofty situations. All the nests, which we saw, were in the highest places the bird could find.

WE passed some forests; but the trees are dwarf and poor, not resembling the timber of GREAT-BRITAIN; you will in vain look for those stately woods, which not only afford fuel, shade, and wealth to their owners, but send forth fleets, which give laws to the ocean. Though I lost my watch on the top of one of the highest mountains near the ZEBREROS, yet, by extraordinary good fortune, it was found by the *Marigatti*, or mule-drivers, and carried to the Padre Abbad of ZEBREROS, who sent it me in less than a month.

THE new STONE-CAUSEWAY, which joins the two CASTILES, and extends to GUADARAMA, is a most magnificent public work: It was done by an order of FERDINAND VI. the late King, as appears by the following inscription on a pillar erected on the causeway: FERDINANDUS VI. PATER PATRIÆ. VIAM VTRIQUE CASTELLÆ SUPERATIS MONTIBUS FECIT. ANN. SALUTIS MDCC XLIX. REGNI SUI IV. It is really a noble road, and seems owing rather to the labour and activity of a *Roman*, than to the slow industry of a *Spaniard*.

SOME parts of the CASTILES are pleasant; they are ill cultivated; have no wood of any moment; this makes fuel incredibly dear in MADRID; the expence of one single fire there for the winter has been known to cost fifty pounds; an amazing article! The charcoal consumed in their kitchens, and braziers, comes chiefly from GALLAPAGAR, at the distance of 30 miles, which is far enough in that country to make the carriage of it very expensive. The principal *timber* they use, is *fir*, the growth of the country; their houses, churches, carriages, and furniture, are chiefly of *deal*; there are sometimes no less than fourteen large girders, in the cieling of a small apartment. One would not imagine from this circumstance, that timber was scarce. As to the *water* in this country, I do not think it in general good; that of MADRID is excellent, which is plain by the court's being at much expence to have it conveyed

to distant places. There are two fine rivers in the CASTILES, the TAGUS, and the GUADIANA; as to the MANSANARES, which runs close by MADRID, it is but a poor stream, and falls into the XARAMA, about 6 leagues distant from the TAGUS. I was told in LONDON, that the situation of MADRID was upon a plain, but it is a great mistake: It is built upon a chain of little hills, and, because there are higher mountains round it, at a distance, has been supposed to be in a plain.

THE Spaniards erect pillars at proper distances upon the causeways, to direct travellers during the snows; we saw several of them in LEON, and other parts. The first comer to a *Spanish* inn, be his rank what it may, has the first choice of the accommodations; this occasions a sort of contest between the travellers in this country, who shall get first to the inn. It is a common practice to send a man on an hour or two before: We distanced one DON JOSEPH, a Biscayner, in this way; finding that he was going to the same *Pofada*, or inn, we detached our faithful ANTONIO, who, as fleet as an *Arab*, ran over the mountains in bye-paths, and arrived at the inn long before the DON and we came to it. This contest arises from there being seldom more than one inn in a village; at which, if disappointed, you must probably ride 8 or 10 miles before you can find another, which, at the end of a long day's journey, and in the dark, would be fatiguing, and perhaps dangerous.

UPON a review of the whole country from CORUNNA to MADRID, one may say, that GALICIA is a fine fertile province; that some parts of it are equal to many in ENGLAND; but as to LEON, it is a naked, dreadful, barren rock, except where it is covered with a few pitiful firs, or shrubs, such as are about BE-NEVENTE and VILLALPANDO, and except some few plains after you have passed ASTORGA. I turned round to take a view of LEON from one of the highest mountains, and was almost frightened at the sight; a brown horror, as Mr. POPE expresses it, was spread over the whole; sands, rocks, and craggy precipices, formed as savage a prospect, as can be imagined. And yet this country was probably once fought for; the inhabitants surely must find a charm in it unknown to us. In one of these villages we found

found a set of people, dressed in a whimsical manner, dancing to rude music; the whole appearance was entertaining and grotesque; the dance artless and odd; its natural simplicity shewed the people in their true character.

THE road from CORUNNA to MADRID is certainly not so bad, as it is generally thought in ENGLAND. The mountains of GALICIA are very passable; the only difficult parts which I saw, were the descent at LA FAVA, and about 12 miles, as you come out of SERRARIAS. The mountains of LEON are rather disagreeable than dangerous, and all the rest is easy. Be it as it may, our English messengers find no difficulty in it. The accommodations, indeed, are miserable: I have said you must absolutely carry your provisions and bedding along with you; and even then, unless you can bear fatigue well, lye down in your clothes, eat eggs, onions, and cheese; unless you can sleep while your mules rest, rise the moment you are called, and set out early in the morning, before the heat comes on, you will fare ill as a traveller in SPAIN. It is a good method to carry dried tongues with you, hard eggs, not hams, for they will not keep, as we found by experience; some portable soup; tea, sugar, and spirituous liquors; not forgetting even pepper and salt; and whenever you meet with good bread, meat, fowls, or wine, always to buy them, whether you want them or not, because you know not what to-morrow may produce. A knife, fork, and spoon, are absolutely necessary, for you will find none; nor should you omit a pair of snuffers, a candlestick, and some wax-candles. Take care only not to carry any tobacco or rum; for they are all contraband, and may occasion the detention, if not the seizure of your baggage. Particularly bring with you as few *books* as possible, for the inquisition will seize them. My baggage was detained a fortnight on account of my books; and THE EARL of BRISTOL was obliged to speak twice to GENERAL WALL, before he could release the captives. Many of these circumstances seem *trifling*, but they are so material, that those who happen to travel without them in this country, will find, by dear-bought experience, that all these *trifles* have their use, and if neglected,

—————Hæ nugæ seria ducent
In mala.

LETTER

L E T T E R I I.

The STATE of RELIGION in SPAIN.

WITH regard to ancient religious rites or customs in this country, there was probably in early times a great mixture of all sorts. The first accounts of SPAIN, that are clear and authentic, are, I believe, those in STRABO and LIVY. The face of it then was certainly very savage and barbarous. It could have no religious notions besides its own, but from GAUL, ITALY, or AFRIC, from the PHOENICIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, GAULS, or ROMANS : and what those were, are well known.

MARIANA tells us, that Christianity was first preached in SARRAGOÇA by St. JAMES, 42 years after CHRIST : and for this he quotes ISIDORE, bishop of SEVILLE. With all due deference to the authority, though episcopal, I must beg leave to deny the fact ; for St. LUKE says expressly, that St. JAMES was killed at JERUSALEM. The SPANIARDS have likewise another tradition concerning this apostle ; which, though believed by themselves, will hardly find credit among Protestants. It is, that St. JAMES, by birth a SPANIARD, has been often seen armed in the air, going before the van, and protecting the SPANISH armies : Which circumstance you may read in Boldonius, if you like it. Whether it be for these reasons, or others, I cannot say, however this fact is certain, that SAN JAGO, or St. JAMES, hath from the earliest times been ever revered and worshipped as the guardian, and tutelar saint of SPAIN.

WHAT innovations, or changes their religious worship underwent from the first planting of *Christianity* to the arrival of the GOTHs, or the invasion of the MOORS, would perhaps be impossible to say: That the *Gothic* princes embraced the *Christian* faith, is clear from many evidences still remaining, not in SPAIN only, but in ENGLAND and other countries: That the MOORS would never receive *Christianity* among them, appears but too plainly from the enmity that hath ever subsisted between the two people, from their final expulsion under PHILIP III. and the odium with which they pursue them to this day.

THAT the JEWS have always subsisted here in such numbers was probably owing to this circumstance: when TITUS carried back with him to ROME so many thousand captive JEWS, the shattered remnants of that devoted people, and dispersed them afterwards throughout the world; as SPAIN lay convenient for their passage out of ITALY, and being a wide and extended country, multitudes of them probably fled for an asylum there: Tho' great numbers remained at ROME and in ITALY, as appears by the edicts against them afterwards, and by the religion of the captives spreading so much among their conquerors: A circumstance which RUTILIUS has finely lamented;

Atque utinam nunquam Judæa subacta fuisset
 Pompeii bellis, imperioque Titi.
 Latius excisæ gentis contagia serpunt,
 Victoresque suos natio victa premit.

That the JEWS had in some parts of SPAIN, and at some periods, the free exercise of their religion, and worship, is an undoubted fact: There is an *Hebrew* Temple still remaining at TOLEDO, which I have seen, as a standing proof of it to this day.

WHAT is of more moment to us is, as may be collected from Dr. GEDDES's several tracts, that no western church has preserved so many, and such authentic monuments and records, as the SPANISH church hath down to the VIIIth century. It was antiently exactly the same with the present church of ENGLAND, had the same NICENE CREED, and appealed to the same general councils:

cils : And their Prince, as well as ours, was defender of the faith and head of the church. The Bishop of ROME had no more authority there, than any other prelate. The *Spanish* Church had no dependence on that see till the VIIIth century. Till after the *Moorish* times, it had no image-worship ; no prayers addressed to saints, or angels ; no purgatory ; it did not maintain seven sacraments ; it knew not transubstantiation, which certainly is of no older date than the time of Pope INNOCENT III. in the *Lateran* council, held after the year 1200 ; by consequence the cup was always given to the laity, and never refused till after that doctrine prevailed in the beginning of the XIIIth century. There was likewise no adoration of the host, no auricular confession. They had no prayers then in an unknown language. The antient *Gothic* Liturgy, then in use, was called *Mozarabic*, or *Musarabic*, from those christians, who lived under the *Moorish* government in SPAIN. It was first printed by Cardinal XIMENES. And there is to this day, an annual *Mozarabic* mass celebrated with great pomp and solemnity, in the metropolitan church of TOLEDO, at which the present King of SPAIN has assisted in person. Every one knows, that the term *mass* came from the custom of dismissing the people with the—*Ita—missa est*.

As the SPANISH Church certainly remained pure, uncorrupted, and unpapistical till towards the VIIIth century ; so from that period downwards, Paganism artfully, and by almost imperceptible insinuations, gradually stole in, wearing that mask or vizor, which we now call *Popery*. Whatever triumphs Christianity may formerly have gained over the Gentile worship ; Paganism, in all catholic countries, is now entirely revenged ; she triumphed in her turn from the moment she established herself in the form of Popery. Concealed under this drapery, she presides in the very tabernacle and sanctuary of christians, and is worshipped sitting between the horns of the altar. When you enter a Roman catholic, apostolic, papistical, christian temple, at your first view you see that all is *Pagan*. The late Dr. MIDDLETON hath very learnedly, elegantly, and effectually proved this point to demonstration. But I never relished that ingenious performance so much, as when my own eyes bore testimony to the truth of his observations. The

resemblance is so striking between the use of the ancient *Thura*, and the modern Incense; their *aspergillum*, *lavacrum*, &c. and the present holy water; the blessing of horses, and the ancient benediction of cattle; the same profusion of lamps and wax-lights; between the ancient *votivæ tabulæ*, ἀναθήματα, and the modern votive limbs, offerings, and pictures: the multitude of shrines, crosses, and altars in the churches, roads, hills, and high places; and particularly of *images*, which have often brought to my mind that satirical joke of PETRONIUS, who said he never walked the streets, but he could much more easily meet with a god than a man.

Facilius est deum, quam hominem invenire.

And I am sure, if you spit out of a window in SPAIN, 'tis ten to one but you spit upon a saint. The *Spanish Flagellantes*, by PYTHAGOREAN transmigration, are exactly the old, self-lashing priests of JOVE, or the AJAX MASTIGOPHORUS on an *Athenian* stage: and are indeed a most shocking spectacle. The custom of churches being permitted as sanctuaries for villains, prevailed at ROME in the time of the Emperor TIBERIUS: For the senate very justly exclaimed against it. See TACITUS. Annal. III. CESTIUS's opinion was,

Neque quenquam in urbis templa perfugere, ut eo subsidio ad flagitia utatur.

And yet, what a ROMAN Senator blushed at, is sanctified by a *Roman-catholic Pope*. The quires of churches in all popish countries are a sort of religious fairs or markets, where people continually come and go in succession, and masses are constantly said till twelve o'clock at noon, but not after. The mass for the dead is exactly copied from the parentation of the heathens. The dress of the officiating priest has constantly put me in mind of those remarkable words:

Tanquam vestis illa prophetica, quæ licet vera ederet miracula, operanti ornamentum potius quam adjumentum videretur*.

The present King of SPAIN, while he was at NAPLES, sent orders to the officiating priest on St. JANUARIUS's day, that the

* See TACITUS.

blood should be made to liquefy in such a precise number of minutes, for he would stay no longer. This is exactly the old quack experiment mentioned by HORACE, which he saw at GNATIA :

Dum flammâ sine thura liquefcere limine sacro
Perfuadere cupit——

THERE is one reason why the Church of ROME ought not to make so free with the argument of miracles: because if they maintain *theirs* to be as genuine as those of the Apostles, it will be an easy matter to prove those recorded of the Emperor VESPASIAN (who is said to have healed a withered hand, and restored the blind to sight) to be at least of equal authority: A *Roman* historian records the one, and a *Roman* catholic writer maintains the other: *Utri creditis, QUIRITES!* This folly of theirs, instead of strengthening their own cause, tends evidently to weaken it, and it saps the rotten foundations of popish policy. If the mischief ended there, it would be well: but it tends also to subvert the great proofs of Christianity, and to assist the gates of hell, instead of opposing them. The character of the present Papists is exactly that which TACITUS hath given of the old GERMANS,

De actis deorum credere, quam scire.

THE number of holydays enjoined by the Pope is become so excessive, as to be a scandalous encouragement to idleness. If it was thought despicable by the busy minds of the *Roman* people, to see the JEWS, from the institutions of MOSES, give but one day in seven to complete indolence, though for the cause of religion: If their active virtue abhorred to see, as one of them calls it, *septima quæque lux quieti data*; what would he have said, had he seen such a number of days consecrated in his own ROME to the same purpose? But this practice likewise had its birth in Paganism; and made CASSIUS say in the reign of NERO, that if they were to decree such a vast number of festival days, the gods would take up the whole year in being thanked, *eoque oportere dividi sacros, et negotiosos dies, quæis divina colerentur, et humana non impedirent.*

THE absurdity of their *Reliques* is beyond measure ridiculous; such as the thigh of St. LAWRENCE, with the skin burnt, and marked with the prongs, which he was turned with on the grid-iron. There are said to be the heads of two thousand martyred virgins in the convent of our Lady of ATOCHE near MADRID, where the *British* standards, taken at the battle of ALMANZA, still remain.

IT is certain, that their blind zeal in matters of religion has destroyed many fine remains of heathen learning, and classic antiquity: It still continues the same ravage under the direction of monks and inquisitors; leaves are cancelled, prefaces torn, and books prohibited, secreted, or burnt, because they are against the Catholic faith. As they formerly thought the Bible would appear to more advantage, when the pagan poets were destroyed; so they are still of opinion, that popery will always appear best, when every evidence of its imposture is suppressed or spirited away. These are lengths in which the zealots of the church of ROME have certainly gone too far: And on the other hand LUTHER himself, when he began the reformation, went too far in burning the canon law. This superstitious zeal of theirs against Pagan writers, and modern heretical authors, cannot be placed in a more ridiculous light, than they have placed it themselves in one of the pictures, which I saw at the ESCURIAL: where several angels were flogging St. JEROM for the wicked delight he had taken in reading the works of that vile heretic MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

As the several pagan gods were multiplied by being worshipped as different deities, though in reality they were the same: as a JUPITER, an HERCULES, &c. were set up in almost every country: So where popery prevails, and particularly in SPAIN, the Blessed Virgin MARY, the mother of our Lord, is multiplied into almost as many distinct divinities, as there are separate districts and places. Thus there is our Lady of ATOCHE, our Lady of ALCALA DE HENARES, our Lady of TOLEDO, &c. And the little pictures or images of these are worn as *Amulets* by the common people, who have as much faith in them, as the antients had

had in a *Talisman*, or *Abraxas*. I have seen one of these last, which Prince EUGENE himself wore, a strange instance of human weakness in one who rose so much above the common level, and made such a shining figure as a hero on the theatre of EUROPE. The Spaniards have marvellous superstitions relating to the different properties of those different Virgin MARIES: If you pray to *this*, she is a good preservative against thunder and lightning; if you pray to *that*, an admirable specific against the cholic and rheumatism. But the Blessed Virgin of PILAR, or our Lady of the Pillar, MARIA DE COLUMNA, in SARAGOÇA, is the most capital Virgin MARY, the greatest object of devotion in all SPAIN.

THERE cannot be much *simony* in the Church of ROME, because the Pope, or the King, disposes of all church-preferments; for there can be no traffic supposed between the inferior ecclesiastics and his Holiness, or his Majesty. Statutes of mortmain are highly requisite and necessary in this country. The present King of SPAIN hath, it is said, attempted something like them, by taxing all donations to religious uses ever since the year 1730. These were anciently such a grievance in ENGLAND, that it became a form in some wills: *dentur, assignentur, vendantur—exceptis Religiosis & Judæis*.

PHILIP V. in 1716, obtained of the Pope an indulto for raising money upon the clergy. The Pope granted him one for five years, that is to say, a million and a half in the Indies, and a million on the churches in SPAIN. It is a mistake to call this the *los millones*, which is a different tax, as will appear in the account of the Spanish Revenue. This is called *subsídio*.

THE Crusade against the followers of WALDO (a merchant of LYONS) or the *Albigenses*, in 1160, gave birth probably to the INQUISITION. Pope GREGORY IX. first devised that horrid tribunal, but INNOCENT IV. was the first, who had abilities and courage sufficient to bring it to a due maturity, and give it a just establishment. The form of it, and the number of its members, differ greatly in different countries.* In SPAIN it was established chiefly by Cardinal XIMENES, who knew perfectly well what political use could be made of it. The Spaniards still sup-

* See more upon this article in the next Letter.

port it, not so much with an intention to burn Jews or Heretics, as they do in PORTUGAL, but to enjoy the benefit of one religion, the want of such uniformity being, they apprehend, a great inconvenience to other states. MONS. VOLTAIRE indeed is of another opinion; he tells us, that if there was but one religion in ENGLAND, the government would soon become despotic; if there were two, they would cut each others throats; but as there are so many religions amongst us, things go on very quietly. To speak however of the Inquisition in the mildest terms, it is at best but a *Roman, Turkish, or an Arabian* persecution in a Christian dress. The inquisitors perhaps may say, "We only persecute in this manner the very worst of heretics, such as *Jews*." It may be answered, "And what have the Pagans done more? those whom they persecuted, they accounted heretics, and these very Jews did the same thing." The Dominican will reply, "But can you as a *Christian* spare and tolerate the persecutors of CHRIST?" We answer, I think justly, That we have no authority to punish them; but we may tolerate their worship, or not, as we think proper. Because some people, called Jews, crucified the founder of our religion, JESUS CHRIST, above 1700 years ago, that is no reason why you should crucify all those who go under that name at this day. Where is your warrant, your authority, your commission delegated from the Almighty for this purpose? Is it any where said, "Go forth, my disciples, with sword and fire, torment, rack, and burn all those who will not embrace the Christian faith; or, what is much less, the Roman Catholic faith?" Though God himself may punish the sins of the fathers on the children to the third and fourth generation; these people are at present at least the *fiftieth* generation from the murderers of Christ. Thus you seem to me not only to snatch the thunder of the ALMIGHTY out of his hands, but to dart it unwarrantably, and even launch the bolt much farther than He ever declared he should do himself. Can the GOD of all mercy be delighted with so cruel a sacrifice of human blood? There is an undoubted resemblance between a SPANISH INQUISITOR, and a DIOCESIAN, a CALED, or a MUSTAPHA; you now act the part of the Pagan princes, as they formerly acted yours. Such a tribunal, shocking as it is to humanity, has nothing but false political ends to plead in its excuse: And where nature and religion must

must be sacrificed, such a policy is only worthy of a MACHIAVEL, a XIMENES, or an Emperor of JAPAN. The principles of toleration are founded in nature, reason, humanity, justice, and true policy. If in a well civilized state the majority are of one religious persuasion, the most that you can lawfully do is, to lay those who are dissentient, under such restrictions, as shall prevent their disturbing, or subverting the civil or religious harmony of that state. This is all that appears to me allowable ; and of this nature are the laws in England and Ireland against the Papists. But when you come to molest innocent subjects, to take from them their possessions, to expose them to tortures and cruel deaths, or drive them to seek settlements in other countries, you then exceed your power, play the part of a Syracusan tyrant, and it becomes *Persecution* ; like the expulsion of the Moors, or the revocation of the edict of Nantz.

BUT after all, why are the Jews singled out, as the worst of heretics ? In one light they are the most pardonable. They are the only people, besides the Christians, who have received the glorious deposit of a true, a divine revelation : They had theirs from God himself ; we received ours from his Son : They are, no doubt, in a dangerous and incorrigible state of error, by not acknowledging the true MESSIAH ; but we are not to be the punishers of that error : A very severe part of that punishment seems already to have passed upon them ; they have been deprived of their country and temple ; their existence, as a nation, destroyed ; they have been sold, and carried captive into all lands ; driven as wretched fugitives and vagabonds throughout the world : Let the intolerant spirit of bigots exclaim as loudly against them as it may, there is not a Roman-catholic in the world but will join in the cry : which very circumstance should awaken all the suspicions of us Protestants. The next step from exclusion out of community, is persecution. But to a humane mind, considering the sufferings of these people, the most natural conclusion will probably be that, which was made by the first outlaw of the human race, at a time when society or communion had not those sweets and advantages which they now enjoy. The conclusion meant is, *That their punishment is greater than they can bear.* The Spaniards have

always found, that this violent way of making proselytes has had but indifferent success. It may make men temporize, dissemble, or perhaps perjure themselves. Fire and sword, famine and torture will never cure Jewish blindness; when miracles wrought by a divine power have had no effect, what is to be hoped for from any human means? TITUS reasoned with them in this way much more forcibly than any one, either before or since his time; the SENNACHERIBS, and NEBUCHADNEZZARS fell far short of him in this method of argument. But what was the consequence? They fought still more desperately for their civil and religious liberties, and obstinately expired, as they still do in the inquisitor's flames, in the defence of their faith.

UPON the whole we may safely say, that the Roman-catholic systems of *morality*, as treated by jesuitical casuists, are truly *l'art de chicaner avec Dieu*; that their religion, as dressed out with the trappings of popery, discovers in its folds the pagan wardrobe from whence it was taken. From a view of it one cannot help coming at this obvious truth: That as the admission of all error is dangerous, it is most fatally so in matters of religion; the avenues of which should therefore be guarded with the greater vigilance. In other cases the error is removable, or the remedy at worst but difficult: But here error is generally uneradicable, permanent, and the remedy impracticable. All attempts to alter what has once been sacred, are imagined to border so near to sacrilege or impiety, that few in any age or country have had firmness and discretion enough to undertake the task. This is the great stronghold of popery, and all other corrupt religions. For as the Roman consul judiciously said upon a like occasion,

Nihil enim in speciem fallacius est, quam prava religio. Ubi Deorum numen prætenditur sceleribus, subit animum timor, ne fraudibus humanis vindicandis divini juris aliquid immistum violemus. LIVIUS, lib. xxxix. cap. 16.

ERRORS in learning commonly serve for our amusement; as abler men will set them right; errors in politics occasion at worst but temporary evils; but errors in religion are everlasting, too obstinate

obstinate to be subdued. Learned and political controversies, tho' often managed with much heat and rancour, produce generally new lights for the use of the public; but religious controversy is for the most part pernicious, and serves only to poison the minds of men. When bigotry prompts, and enthusiasm inflames, and the zealous fury once rises, the worst of all plagues is then begun: for, more human blood has been shed by this blind religious zeal, than by the dagger of the assassin, the sword of justice, or all the artillery and implements of war.

FROM the first century, Spain had bishoprics, and was divided into the provinces *Carthaginensis*, *Tarraconensis*, *Betica*, *Lusitana*, and *Gallaica*.

THE first bishops were, according to the Spanish writers, disciples of St. James the Apostle. The episcopal government was somewhat interrupted by the *Moors*, who ravaged part of the peninsula: but the *Mauritanians* in ANDALUSIA were more inclined to conquer Spain than to change its religion from the christian to mahometanism. By this means, the kings of OVIEDO and LEON, together with the counts of CASTILE and the kings of NAVARRE, having recovered strength to conquer the SARACENS, re-established the bishops who had retired, and founded several churches and monasteries.

SPAIN had eleven archbishoprics, and fifty-four bishoprics, including those of PORTUGAL.

LIST of the ARCHBISHOPRICS and BISHOPRICS of *SPAIN*, with their valuation.

I. *TOLEDO*. Archbishop and Metropolitan.

His Eminence, Don LUIS DE CORDOVA, * L. 50,000

SUFFRAGANS.

1. CARTHAGENA	Don Diego de Roxas,	-	8000
2. CORDOVA	Don Martin de Barcia,	-	5250
3. CUENÇA	Vacant,	-	6250
4. SIGUENZA	Don Francisco Dias,	-	7500
5. JAEN	Don Fran. Benito Marin	-	5000
6. SEGOVIA	Don Manuel Murillo	-	4250
7. OSMA	Vacant	-	3250
8. VALLADOLID	Don Ifidro de Coffio,	-	2500

II. *SEVILLE*. Archbishop, &c.

Don FRANCISCO SOLIS DE CARDONA, 15,000

SUFFRAGANS.

1. MALAGA	Don Joseph de Franquis Lafo,	7500
2. CADIZ	Don Francisco Thomas del Valle,	2000
3. CANARIA	Don Francisco Valentin Moran,	
4. CEUTA	Don Joseph de la Cuesta.	

III. *SANTIAGO*. Archbishop, &c.

Don BATHOLOME RAJOY Y' LOSADA, 15,000

SUFFRAGANS.

1. SALAMANCA	Don Joseph Zorila	-	3000
2. TUY	Don Juan Manuel Castannon,		2000
3. AVILA	Don Romualdo Velarde,	-	2500
4. CORIA	Don Juan Joseph Garcia Alvaro,		3250
5. PLASENCIA	Vacant,	-	6875
6. ASTORGA	Don Francisco Xavier Cabezon,		1875

* The valuation of these preferments is taken from a Spanish book lately published at MADRID: It makes the revenues of *TOLEDO* greater than the common estimation of them: But I doubt if the account is exaggerated.

7. *ZAMORA*

IN SPAIN.

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7. ZAMORA	Don Ifidro Cavanillas,	2500
8. OXENSE	Don Francisco Augustin de Euro,	1500
9. BADAJOZ	Don Manuel Perez Minago,	3250
10. MONDONNEDO	Don Carlos de Riomol,	1250
11. LUGO	Don Fr. Francisco Izquierdo,	1500
12. CIUDAD RODRIGO	Don Joseph Viguezal,	1250

IV. GRANADA. Archbishop, &c.

Don PEDRO ANTONIO BARROETA, 6250

SUFFRAGANS.

1. GUADIX	Don Franc. Alexandro Bocanegra,	1000
2. ALMERIA	Don Francisco Gaspar de Molina,	1125

V. BURGOS. Archbishop, &c.

Don ONESIMO SALAMANCA, 3750

SUFFRAGANS.

1. PAMPLONA	Don Gaspar de Miranda,	3500
2. CALAHORRA	Don Andres de Porras,	3000
3. PALENCIA	Don Andres de Bustamante,	2500
4. SANTANDER	Don Franc. Xavier de Arriaza	1500

VI. TARRAGONA. Archbishop, &c.

Don JAYME DE CORTADA Y' BRU', 3250

SUFFRAGANS.

1. BARCELONA	Don Affensio Sales,	1500
2. GERONA	Don Manuel Antonio Palmero,	1250
3. LERIDA	Don Manuel Macias Pedrejon,	2000
4. TORTOSA	Don Luis Garcia Mannero,	2500
5. VIQUE	Don Fr. Bartholomè Sarmentero	750
6. URGEL	Don Fr. Chathalan de Ocón,	1000
7. SOLSONA	Don Fr. Joseph de Mezquia,	625

VII. ZA-

VII. *ZARAGOZA*. Archbishop, &c.

Don FRANCISCO DE ANOA Y BASTA. 7500

SUFFRAGANS.

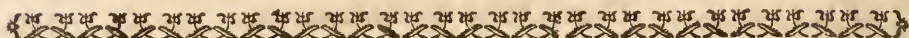
1. HUESCA	Don Antonio Sanchez,	1500
2. BARBASTRO	Don Fr. Diego de Rivera,	1000
3. XACA	Don Pasqual Lopez,	750
4. TARAZONA	Don Estevan de Villanova,	1875
5. ALBARRACIN	Don Juan Navarro,	1000
6. TERUEL	Don Fr. Rodriguez Chico,	2250

VIII. *VALENCIA*. Archbishop, &c.

Don ANDRES MAYORAL. 13,750

SUFFRAGANS.

1. SERGOVE	Don Fr. Blas de Arganda,	2000
2. ORIHUELA	Vacant,	3750
3. MALLORCA	Don Lorenzo Despuig,	2750



IN A M E R I C A.

I. *SANTO DOMINGO*. Archbishop.

Don PHELIPE RUIZ DE AUSMENDI.

SUFFRAGANS.

1. PUERTO RICO	Don Pedro Martinez de Oneca.
2. CUBA	Don Pedro Agustin Morel.
3. CARACAS	Don Diego Diez Madronnero.

II. *MEXICO.* Archbishop, &c.

Don MAN. RUBIO DE SALINAS.

SUFFRAGANS.

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| 1. PUEBLA DE LOS AN-
GELES | — | Don Domingo Alvarez de Abrea. |
| 2. OAXACA | — | Don Ventura Blanco. |
| 3. MECHOACAN | — | Don Pedro Sanchez de Tagle. |
| 4. GUADALAXARA | — | Don Francisco de Texada. |
| 5. YUCATAN | — | Don Fr. Ignacio de Padilla. |
| 6. DURANGO | — | Don Pedro Tamaron. |

III. *MANILA.* Archbishop, &c.

Don MANUEL ANTONIO ROXO.

SUFFRAGANS.

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| 1. CEBU' | — | Vacant. |
| 2. NUEVA SEGOVIA | — | Don Juan de la Fuente. |
| 3. NUEVA CACERES | — | Don Fr. Manuel de Matos. |

IV. *GUATEMALA.* Archbishop, &c.

Don FRANCISCO DE FIGUEROA.

SUFFRAGANS.

- | | | |
|--------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. CHIAPA | — | Don F. Joseph Videl de Montezuma. |
| 2. NICARAGUA | — | Don Fr. Mato. Navia Bolano. |
| 3. COMAYAGUA | — | Don Diego Rodriguez Rivas. |

V. *LIMA.* Archbishop.

Don DIEGO DEL CORRO.

SUFFRAGANS.

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| 1. AREQUIPA | — | Don Jacinto Aquado y' Chacón. |
| 2. TRUXILLO | — | Don Francisco de Luna Victoria. |
| | | 3. QUITO |

- | | | |
|------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| 3. QUITO | — | Don Juan Nieto Polo del Aquila. |
| 4. CUZCO | — | Don Juan de Castoneda. |
| 5. GUAMANGA | — | Don Phelipe Manrique de Lara. |
| 6. PANAMA | — | Don Man. Romani y' Carrillo. |
| 7. CHILE | — | Don Man. de Alday. |
| 8. CONCEPCION DE CHILE | | Don Joseph de Toro. |

VI. *CHARCAS*. Archbishop.

Don CAYETANO MARCELLANO Y AGRAMONT.

SUFFRAGANS.

- | | | |
|--|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. N ^{RA} . S ^{RA} . DE LA PAZ | | Don Diego de Parada. |
| 2. TUCUMAN | — | Don Pedro de Argadona. |
| 3. S ^{TA} . CRUZ DE LA SIERRA | | Don Fern. Perez de Oblitas. |
| 4. PARAGUAY | — | Don Manuel de la Torre. |
| 5. BUENOS AYRES | — | Don Jos. Anto. Basurco y Herrera. |

VII. *SANTA FE*. Archbishop.

Don JOSEPH XAVIER DE ARAUZ.

SUFFRAGANS.

- | | | |
|----------------|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. POPAYAN | — | Don Geronymo de Obregon. |
| 2. CARTAGENA | — | Don Manuel de Sofa y Betancur. |
| 3. SANTA MARTA | - | Don Nicolas Gil Martinez. |

THESE were formerly in the nomination of the King, and afterwards the Concordate. This is not the case now. The Pope, the King, and the Archbishop of TOLEDO divide the patronage. The concordate was an old council or junto for that purpose; but is lately abolished.

THE bishoprics in SPAIN have very fine revenues. The bishops always go in the following dress: A long robe and a purple

purple rochet. They generally carry a crucifix, wear a cross upon their breasts, and a ring.

THE clergy of Spain who are not of any particular monastic order wear the regular dress, consisting of a cassock, and a hood of flannel or silk. The cassock has a cape; and their hats are tucked up on both sides. The ecclesiastical estates are very considerable.

L E T T E R I I I.

Of the GOVERNMENT of SPAIN, the *Cortes*,
or PARLIAMENT, its LAWS, TRIBUNALS, COURTS
of JUDICATURE, &c.

THE government of SPAIN was, by its ancient constitution, a limited monarchy, of hereditary succession, both in males and females. The male line ended in FERDINAND, who united CASTILE and ARRAGON, by marriage with ISABELLA of CASTILE. That Princess dying at MEDINA DEL CAMPO, in 1505, left issue, I. JOHN, who married MARGERITE, daughter of

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of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN. 2. ISABELLA, married first to Prince ALPHONZO, son of JOHN II. and afterwards to EMANUEL of PORTUGAL. 3. JOAN, who was afterwards Queen of CASTILE. 4. MARY, who married EMMANUEL of PORTUGAL. 5. CATHERINE, who married ARTHUR Prince of WALES, and afterwards HENRY VIII. of ENGLAND.

ISABELLA appointed her heirs by will, the Princess DONNA JUANA her third daughter, conjointly with her husband the Archduke PHILIP, of BURGUNDY, son of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, who was surnamed PHILIPPE LE FLAMAND. In consequence of this testamentary disposition, PHILIP claimed the crown of CASTILE against his father-in-law FERDINAND. This dispute was however amicably adjusted by an agreement in 1506, that both parties should have equal power and authority. But PHILIP dying that same year, the power and crown of SPAIN reverted entire into the hands of FERDINAND, who dying in 1516, was succeeded in the throne of SPAIN by his grandson CHARLES V. who was the son of PHILIP by Donna JUANA, stiled the *Fool*, who was the mother of two Emperors. And thus the crown of SPAIN came into the house of AUSTRIA. This monarchy was limited by its *Cortes*, or Parliament, composed of representatives sent from the cities and towns, each of which, according to the old *Gothic* plan, sent procurators, or deputies, chosen by and out of the aldermen of their respective cities. The eldest member for BURGOS always acted as speaker of the house; though TOLEDO was a rival to BURGOS for that privilege. In order to adjust amicably their two claims, the King used to say on opening the session of the *Cortes*, "I will speak for TOLEDO, which will do what I order: But let BURGOS speak *first*;" because BURGOS was anciently the capital of CASTILE. No act could pass in this parliament by majority of voices; it required the unanimous assent of all the members. All its acts were afterwards carried to the King to be confirmed. The members of this parliament were always assembled in a *Cortes*, by letters convocatory from the King and privy council;

eil; and it was dissolved by a notification from the president of that council. But notwithstanding its dissolution, a committee of eight members still remained at court. This *Cortes* has rarely been called since the year 1647, when they gave PHILIP IV. the *millones*, or general excise, and will probably never be assembled any more, as their power is great, and they can call ministers so severely to an account. The last meeting of it that I know of, was in May 1713, when it assembled to receive the renunciation of PHILIP V. to his rights upon the crown of FRANCE. This assembly was antiently the keeper of the revenues of the crown. But CHARLES V. and his ministers first laid them aside, because they could get no money from them: And having obtained a grant of the sale of the bull of the *crusado* from the Pope, they found they could get money without the help of a *Cortes*, and so took their leave of an assembly which few princes or ministers are fond of seeing.

THIS antient Spanish *Cortes* undoubtedly resembled our ENGLISH *Parliament*: For all the northern nations had originally a like form of government, which was a limited monarchy, and the legislative authority was so commixt in the King and the estates, that no laws could be made, repealed, or suspended, nor any money raised upon the subject, but with their common consent. But now this *Cortes* is laid aside; SPAIN is no longer a mixed monarchy, but entirely absolute; the whole government being solely in the hands of the King and his ministers, and the councils, which are altogether at their devotion. This change from mixed to absolute monarchy was occasioned by the timidity of the commons of CASTILE, who having in their last struggle for expiring freedom, supported for some time a war against the crown, on a single defeat deserted the noble cause of liberty in the most abject manner. This war began in the year 1520, and lasted only two years: At which time CHARLES V. carried his point with a high hand, and told the *Cortes*, he would always have the supplies granted first, and then he would pass the bills they petitioned for, and not before; to which they timidly submitted, and voted him four millions of ducats (about 480,000 *l.* sterling) to be paid in three years.

THE writ antiently sent to each city, as a summons to parliament, convened all the prelates, masters of the military orders of knighthood, earls, rich men, nobles, and procurators of the cities and towns throughout the realm, in the following manner :
 - (take notice, that this is for CASTILE only, as CATALONIA and ARRAGON had a separate *Cortes*.)

Members.		Members.		Members.	
From the City of		TORO	4	TRUXILLO	2
BURGOS	8	CALAHORRA	2	CANERES	2
TOLEDO	5	OVIEDO	1	CADIX	2
LEON	5	XEREZ	2	XERIZ	4
SEVILLE	3	ASTORGA	1	BEJAR	3
CORDUBA	3	RODRIGO	1	VILLA REAL	3
MURCIA	2	BADAJOX	1	CUELLAR	3
JAEN	3	CORIA	2	TARIFF	1
ABULA	2	GUADALAJARA	2	HUETE	2
SALAMANCA	8	CORUNNA	1	ANDUJAR	2
ZAMORA	4	MEDINADEL		ATIENCA	3
SEGOVIA	2	CAMPO	2	MADRID	2
SORIA	4	CUENZA	3	ALCARAZ	2
VALLADOLID	4	CARMONA	2	St. SEBASTIAN	2
PLACENTIA	2	EZIJA	2	SATIAGUN	2
BAEZA	3	VITORIA	2	FUENTE RU-	
UBEDA	3	LOGRONNO	1	BIA	1

THIS is copied from a writ inserted in Dr. GEDDES's tracts, sent by Don HENRY II. of CASTILE in 1390, and summons 125 members to the *Cortes*, which was afterwards assembled in the church of St. SALVADOR at MADRID. I am told, the oath, which the Kings of SPAIN take at the *Jura* on their accession, is as follows : " I do promise and swear to maintain, and to cause to
 " be maintained, to all the nobles, prelates, churches, and masters
 " of the military orders ; and to all the cities, towns, and villages,
 " all the same privileges, grants, franchises, exemptions, good
 " usages and customs, which they enjoyed in the reigns of my an-
 " cestors, and in the same manner."

THEIR Kings, according to the laws of SPAIN, are declared of age, or out of their minority, on the completion of their four-
 tenth

teenth year. In regulating the succession, after the death of CHARLES II. a medium was observed between the *Salic law*, and the usage of CASTILE; namely, that any *male* heir, howsoever distant, should inherit before a *female*, who was to have no right but after the extinction of every male-branch.



SPANISH LAW, TRIBUNALS, and COURTS OF JUSTICE.

THE Laws of SPAIN are compounded chiefly of the *Roman* civil law, the royal edicts, and probably certain provincial customs. Where they thought the *Roman* law was not sufficiently extensive, they have made large additions of their own. These are called the *Leyes de Partidas*; and form at present a system of modern *Spanish* Law, and have been published by BERNI and CATALA in six volumes octavo. The name *Partidas* comes from the division of them into chapters. As to what we call Common Law in ENGLAND, the SPANIARDS have no such thing; their provincial customs have some resemblance to it, but their laws are LEGES SCRIPTÆ. Much, however, of the *feudal* and *Gothic* constitutions still remain: Thus the *grandees* have still their *vassals*, and very extensive powers over their persons. The study of the Spanish lawyers consists chiefly in that of their old *Gothic* code, or the *Fuero Juzgo*, as they call it, which I apprehend to be a more complete body of *Gothic* law than any thing of that sort ever published. It was compiled by SIJENARDO a *Gothic* prince, in 631, was printed in 1600. It would have been a very considerable addition to *Lindenbrogius's Gothic Code*, who has omitted the *Gothic* laws made in SPAIN. Then the Code of Don SANCHE, in the year 1000; then the *Fuero Royal* of ALPHONSO X. in the year 1255: The *Roman Codes*, digests, pandects, &c. and after these the *Leyes de Partidas*, the *Pragmatica*, the royal edicts, mandates, &c. Those who would know minutely and accurately the state of the Spanish law, should read *Apparatus Juris Publici Hispanici: Valentia*, 2 vol. 8vo. and *Sacra Themidis Hispanica*, 4to. and *L'Histoire du Droit Royal d'ESPAGNE*.

THEIR great court of civil law is divided into the two chanceries of VALLADOLID and GRANADA, which include the whole kingdom. Tho' ARRAGON, VALENTIA, and CATALONIA lost their old privileges; yet they still retain a court of chancery among themselves in audiences held in the capital of each of those kingdoms, whose determinations are subject only to the supreme council of CASTILE. If it be a case of property, the suit is commenced in that chancery to which the plaintiff belongs, and then the affair is referred to the *Consejo Real y Supremo*, at which the King may order, if he pleases, all the deputy-councils to assist. The determination here is not final, because an appeal still lies to the *Sala de Mil y Quinientos*; but that is final, and beyond it is no dernier resort. The tribunals of VALLADOLID and GRANADA were instituted by Don HENRY of CASTILE, enlarged by Don JOHN I. and put on their present footing by FERDINAND and ISABELLA in 1499.

ALL other causes go before the respective courts to which they belong, whether civil, criminal, or commercial, which are as follow:

I. *The Royal or supreme Council of CASTILE.*

This and the following council are frequently assembled as one, to determine appeals made from the chanceries of *Valladolid* and *Granada*: And sometimes affairs of the police are referred to them by the King.

II. *The second Hall of Government.*

The determinations of these are not final, but the ultimate appeal lies to the following court.

III. *The Hall of the Mil y Quinientos.*

So called, because the parties must first deposit here *one thousand five hundred doblas*, (about 223*l.*) before the appeal can be lodged, which is not a large sum, considering law-expences. This is nothing else but a committee of the supreme council.

IV. *The Hall of Justice.*

This is a court for matters purely litigious, and is a part of the supreme council.

V. *The*

V. *The Hall of the Province.*

This is a court of matters chiefly relating to the police.

VI. *The Fiscal: the Office of the Attorney General for the Royal Council.*

VII. *The Hall of the Alcaydes de la Casa y Corte.*

This hall was instituted by ALPHONZO X. to superintend the lodgings for the court, and to provide them. As every house in the kingdom was subject to this inconvenience, the landlords of houses made a composition with the crown to get rid of this grievance: and this composition is said to amount to 150,000 ducats *per annum*. This council was established to preserve this prerogative: and this court antiently found lodgings for all foreign ambassadors, as may be seen in Sir RICHARD FANSHAW's account of his embassy at the court of MADRID.

VIII. *The Supreme Council of War.*

This determines all causes relating to the army; excepting what belongs to the council of the Indies.

IX. *Council of the Inquisition.*

This consists of an inquisitor-general; of five counsellors, whereof one must always be a *Dominican*; of a procurator; two secretaries of the chamber; two secretaries of the council; an *Alguazil*-mayor; a receiver; two reporters; two qualificators, and consultors, and a legion of *familiars*, or spies.

THE supreme office of this *Holy Tribunal*, as they call it, is at MADRID; but there are also inferior holy tribunals, or inquisitionary offices, placed in the great cities almost all over SPAIN. These are the great state-curbs that hold the people in such an implicit religious obedience, and preserve their boasted uniformity of faith. "Among you ENGLISH," they cry, "you have as many religions as districts; but here all is undividedly Roman-catholic." 'Tis true, we ENGLISH are enemies to all persecutive principles; we breathe the spirit of toleration and humanity, and are unwilling to roast any man into Protestantism, or convince by racks, instead of Bibles. I remember I saw at SEGOVIA the tragic footsteps of the inquisition, which once was there, but is

now removed, in the badges of 500 Jews, who had been burnt in that single office only. The inquisitor *Torquemada* (according to Madame D'AUNOIS's account) in the time of FERDINAND and ISABELLA, tried above 100,000 souls, of which 6000 were burnt in less than 14 years time.

THIS court was erected in the XIIIth century, about the year 1251. Pope INNOCENT IV. authorized the *Dominicans* as perpetual inquisitors: CLEMENT IV. confirmed these powers, and enlarged their privileges and tribunals in the year 1265. It was established in CASTILE under FERDINAND and ISABELLA, and in PORTUGAL by JOHN III. in the year 1557. In 1483 FERDINAND obtained a bull to constitute the inquisition in ARRAGON and VALENTIA from SIXTUS IV. who afterwards extended it all over the catholic dominions.

THIS *holy office* used antiently to acknowledge only the power of the Pope above it, and bad defiance to all other controul. It raised itself far above the authority of their Kings, who were often bridled, humbled, and even punished by it. It then was truly formidable, when supported by the united force of papal and royal authority. Their *auto de fe's*, or solemn acts of faith, used to be exhibited commonly when their princes came of age, or at their accession.

IN the year 1724, there was printed in London in 12°. *An Account of the Trial and Sufferings of Mr. ISAAC MARTIN, who was put into the Inquisition in Spain, for the sake of the Protestant Religion.*

THIS man, a native of London, a member of the church of England, kept a *posada*, or inn, at MALAGA, and traded as a merchant with such captains of merchant-ships as touched there; taking their adventure, and giving them the product of the country in return, such as wine, fruit, oil, &c. He came, with a wife and four children, to settle at Malaga in the year 1714, and having stayed there four years, was accused by a set of Irish papists, who envied his better success in trade, in the bishop's court, of such crimes as they commonly charge Protestants with; such as
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his being a Jew, and an heretic, and having given too much scandal, by his discourse and actions, to the *Malagans*, in regard to religion and matters of faith. This was sufficient to accomplish his ruin, which was the end they aimed at. In the year 1718, he was taken up by order of the holy office, and conveyed to the inquisition of GRANADA, from whence after eight months imprisonment, and many vain attempts, by threats and hard usage, to make him turn catholic, he was released in the following manner: As the man was an English protestant, residing there under the protection of treaties subsisting between the two crowns, his commitment and detention were a manifest violation of those treaties, and of the law of nations: accordingly the English Consul at *Malaga* represented the case in a proper manner to the English minister, and the minister in consequence laid the affair before one of the secretaries of state; who immediately represented the matter to his majesty GEORGE I. who was graciously pleased to send a very spirited remonstrance to Cardinal ALBERONI, PHILIP V.'s first minister, claiming his own subject, and insisting upon the immediate release of the said ISAAC MARTIN from the prison of the inquisition, and desiring that he might be sent back to England. The cardinal, upon this, applied to the inquisitor-general to know how the case stood: This gentleman, whose name was Don JACINTO DE ABRANA, sent to the inquisitors at Granada for a true account of the case; and then wrote a letter to the cardinal, stating the matter to him; upon which the cardinal gave orders for his release. The original letter, which the inquisitor-general wrote to cardinal Alberoni upon this subject, accidentally fell into my hands: It is manifestly a letter written designedly to be shewn to the English ministry, in order to justify the inquisition in so illegal and inhuman a procedure. There was, no doubt, another *private* letter written by the same inquisitor to the cardinal, stating the real injustice and indefensible circumstances of this imprisonment; otherwise had the account given in this publick letter been strictly true, the poor man had never been released at all. What the inquisitor in this letter says, indeed, was true enough, that several witnesses of *Malaga* had laid such charges against the said ISAAC MARTIN. But he conceals what was equally true, that these witnesses were a set of Irish papists, who,

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out of envy to the man as a more fortunate trader, accused him before the *inquisition* : that these were not only envious witnesses, but false witnesses, and had crowded into their charge many lies and little truth. A religion must be grounded upon very flimsy evidence, that has recourse to such wretched shifts, to such low artifices for its support. The intercession of GEORGE I. did indeed release this unhappy object ; but how was he released ? He received, upon his enlargement, two hundred lashes, was whipped and pelted for three quarters of an hour through the streets of GRANADA, stripped and plundered of all his effects, sent back to MALAGA, and then put aboard a ship, with his wife and children, to shift for themselves.— Upon a view of this case, I think one cannot help saying, that *the tender mercies* of the inquisition *are cruel* ; and if this be the justice of a christian country, let my lot be thrown among barbarians. The letter, which the Inquisitor-general wrote to cardinal Alberoni, upon this occasion, is an original piece never before published, and is as follows :

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Emminentissimo Senor.

SEÑOR,

EN cumplimiento del prezepto de Vuestra Emminencia acerca dela prission, que se hizo, por el Santo Offizio de la Inquisition de Granada, de la persona de Isaac Martin vecino de la ciudad de Malaga ; Debo decir a Vuestra Emminencia, que este Reo fue testificado en la Inquisition por nueve testigos, de que se jactaba de ser observante de la Ley de Moysès ; y que con escandalo de muchos de-
cia, estabamos enganados los Catolicos en la creencia de nuestra sagrada Religien : y que siendo assi

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Most Eminent Sir.

SIR,

IN obedience to the commands of your Eminence concerning the imprisonment, by order of the holy office of the inquisition of Granada, of the person of Isaac Martin, inhabitant of Malaga : I ought to inform your Eminence, that that criminal was proved in the inquisition by nine witnesses to have boasted, that he was an observer of the law of Moses ; and to the scandal of many he said, that we Catholics were in an error in the belief of our most holy religion :

And

que muchos Yngleses Protestantes hacian reverencia al santissimo sacramento, quando passaba por las calles, ó entraban en las yglesias, no solo no la hazia este Reo, sino que volvia las espaldas, y' serraba las ventanas de sus casas, quando passaba alguna Proceßion, para que sus hijos y familia no hizießsen adoracion: Que ha hablado con Catholicos malamente de el summo Pontifice, y' de las santas Imagenes, y' articulos del Purgatorio: Y' que haviendo embiado a sus hijos a la escuela, tubo un disgusto con el maestro, por que los ensennaba a persignar se, y las oraciones; y por esto los saco de dicha Escuela: Y' que hospedo a un Judio que passaba a Liorna, haviendo graves indicios de que se vino buyendo de Portugal, por temor de que se prendieße aquella inquisition.

And altho' many English Protestants did reverence to the most holy sacrament, when it passed along the streets, or when they entered into the churches: Yet this criminal did not only not do this, but turned his back upon it, and shut the shutters of his windows when any proceßion passed by, in order that his children and family might not worship the Host. And that he hath spoken defamatory words to catholics of the Pope, of the holy images, and our articles of faith relating to purgatory. And that having sent his children to school, he was disgusted with the master, because he taught them to cross themselves, and to say prayers: And that for this reason he took them from the said school: And that he lodged a Jew in his house, who was going to Leghorn, there being strong proofs, that that Jew fled from Portugal for fear of being apprehended by the inquisition of that kingdom.

CON esta informazion fue mandado prender, y' esta confesso en casi todos los cargos, negando solo el ser Judio. Y estando determinado por los sagrados canones y leyes de esos reynos, y por los capitulos de Pazés entre esta y la corona de Ynglaterra, que el

WITH this information orders were given by the Inquisition for apprehending the person of the said Isaac Martin, and he hath confessed almost all the articles of the charge against him, but absolutely denies his being a Jew. It being however

santo officio pueda y' deba prozeder contra los Yngleses que dieren escandalo en punto de religion ; no solo no ha contravenido en la prision de este Reo a ello, sino que el procedimiento es en su conformidad y obseervancia : Por lo qual,

determined by the sacred canons, and the laws of these kingdoms, and by the articles of our treaties of peace between this crown and that of England, that the holy office may and ought to proceed against such Englishmen, as say any thing scandalous in matters of religion : The holy office has not only not done any thing contrary to the said canons, laws, and treaties of peace, in the imprisonment of this criminal, but the *procedimus* is in conformity to them, and obseervance of them. Wherefore,

SUPPLICO a Vuestra Emminencia se sirva mandar responder; que el santo officio prozedes justa y lexitimamente. O como Vuestra Emminencia fuere servido.

I SUPPLICATE your Eminence to give for answer (*to the English minister, I suppose*) that the holy office hath proceeded lawfully and rightly in this matter : Or that your Eminence hath been obeyed.

DIOS guarde a Vuestra Emminencia los muchos anos, que puede y' le suplico. MADRID, y Abril 25 de 1718.

GOD preserve your Eminence many years, which I pray that he may. MADRID, the 25th of April, 1718.

Emminentissimo Senor,

Most eminent Sir,

Beso los manos de Vuestra Emminencia,

I kiss your Eminence's hands,
Your most truly
and affectionately

Su mas rendido Servidor

Jacinto de Abrana.

Jacinto de Abrana.

Al Emminentissimo Senor Cardenal Alberoni.

To his Eminence Cardinal Alberoni.

BUT

BUT now, thank God, these sanguinary acts of faith seem to be growing out of vogue in SPAIN. There has not been, I am told, an *auto de fe* at MADRID for these twelve years; which was owing to this circumstance: A Jew, and his wife, and a daughter of about thirteen years of age, being condemned to be burnt; while the father and mother were burning, they set the child loose from its fetters, and the priests got round it, with a view of converting it by the united force of their rhetoric, and the terrors of immediately undergoing the same cruel death. The child, after seeming to listen a while to their oratory, gave a sudden spring, and vaulted into the midst of the fire; giving a shining example of the force of early piety, of an heroic fortitude equal to that of the most resolute Roman, or the most unshaken martyr.

THE power of this tribunal is now declining very visibly, and seems hastening to its fall; for the present King of SPAIN has taken a bolder step to humble the inquisition, than any of the PHILIPS or CHARLES's who went before him. The inquisitor-general having thought proper, last year, to prohibit a liturgy which the king had licensed, without consulting his majesty about it; the king, with a very proper spirit, put the inquisitor under an arrest, and immediately sent him, guarded with a file of grenadiers, into exile, in a convent, at a great distance from MADRID. So determined and resolute a measure as this, alarmed the whole body of the clergy; they moved heaven and earth to obtain the inquisitor's recall; but for some time their endeavours had no effect: The king was inflexible. The common people were taught by their priests to say, that his Catholic Majesty was no good catholic in his heart. At length, however, the king restored the inquisitor to his liberty: but in such a manner, as that prelate had no reason to triumph; for his majesty, at the time of releasing him, published at Madrid the following edict, which I shall here give in the original Spanish, and subjoin to it a translation.

*H*Aviendo considerado q^a no puede satisfacer mi religioso Celo los sinceros deseos q^a tengo de proteger en todas ocasiones las de-

*H*AVING considered that my religious zeal cannot satisfy the sincere desire I preserve for protecting on all occasions either the

terminaz^a de la Santa Sede, ni los del Tribunal de la Ynquisiz^a de estos Reynos en los graves, é importantes assumptos, que estan encomendados a su cuidado, y que con tanto Celo procura desempenar, si antes que todos mis vasallos no tengo previa notiz^a de las mismas determinaz^a y sino se éstablecen las mas seguras reglas para evitar antes de su promulgazion todos riesgos de embarazo, é incomben^a he resuelto despues de una madura deliberazion, y consulta de mi Consejo, q^e en adelante toda Bula, Breve, Rescripto, Exortation, o Carta Pontifizia sobre qualquiera assumpto que sea, que trate de establecer Ley, Regla, u óbservanzia gen^l que venga dirigida, ya sea en particular, ó general a los Tribunales, Juntas, Arz^{obispos}, Obispos, ó Prelados de estos Reynos, no se haya de publicar, y obedecer, sin que primero conste haverla Yo visto, y Examinado, y q^e el Nuncio App^o si viniere dirigida por su mano la haya pasada a las mias por la via reservada de Estado; que qualquier Bula, ó Breve de negocios entre partes, ó personas particulari ya fuere de gracia, ó justiza se presente, y examine en el Consejo de Castilla, pueda verse, si de su éxecuz^a puede resultar algun perjuicio al Concordato, a las Leyes, buenos usos, y costumbres, y quietud

the determinations of the holysee, or those of the inquisition of these kingdoms in the serious and important business committed to their care, and which is executed with so much zeal by that tribunal, unless I should be acquainted with those same determinations previous to any notice given of them to my vassals, and unless the most secure regulations should be established for avoiding before the publication thereof every danger of embarrassment or inconvenience; I have resolved after mature deliberation, and with advice of my council, that henceforwards neither pontifical bulls, briefs, rescripts, exhortations, nor letters upon any subject whatsoever, treating to establish a law, regulation, or general observance, whether directed in particular, or in general to the tribunals, juntas, magistracies, archbishops, bishops, or prelates of these kingdoms, shall be published, or obeyed, unless it appears to have been first seen, and examined by Me; and if ever they should be addressed to the apostolic nuncio, he must pass them to my hands by the secretary of state's office: And that all bulls or briefs for business between private persons or parties, whether they be of grace or justice, shall be

del Reyno, ó perjuicio de tercero, exceptuando unicam^{te} de esta presentazⁿ las dispensas, y Breves, que se expiden por la sacra Penitenciaría para el fuero interno de la conzienza que el Ynq^{ra} general no publique edicto alguno dimanado de Bulla, ó Breve Pontificio, sin que se le pase de mi orden a este fin, supuesto que todos los ha de entregar el nuncio à mi persona ó a mi primer secretario del despacho de estado, y que si perteneciese à prohibizion de libros, observe la forma prevenido en el Auto acordado 14. titulo 7^o. lib. 1^o. haziendolos examinar de nuevo, y prohibiendolos si lo merecieren por propia potestad, y sin insertar el Breve: Que tampoco publique el Ynq^{ra} general edicto alguno, ó expurgatorio en la corte ni fuera de ella sin darme parte por el secretario del despacho de grazia y justiz^a ò en su falta cerca de mi persona por el de estado, y que se le haya respondido que lo consiento, y finalm^{te} que antes de condenar el Ynq^{ra} general y el tribunal de la Ynq^{ra} qualq^{ue} libro, ó papel, ciga las defensas, que quisieren hacer los interesados citandolos para ello conforme à las reglas prescriptas a la Ynquisizⁿ de Roma por el Papa Benedicto XIV. en la Constitucion App^{ca} que empieza, solicita ac provida. En Buen Retiro à 27 de Nov. de 1761.

be presented to, and examined by the council of Castile, in order to discover, if any prejudice can result from its observance, either to the concordatum or to the laws, good customs and practices, or to the tranquillity of the kingdom, or to the prejudice of any third person, excepting solely from this presentation, the dispensations and briefs dispatched by the holy penitentiary for the internal forum of consciences: And that the inquisitor-general shall not publish any edict, proceeding from any pontifical bull, or brief, unless it be transmitted to him by my order; for they must all be delivered by the nuncio to my person, or to my first secretary of state; and that if they belong to the prohibition of any books, the formality must be observed, as expressed in the 14th Auto, tit. 7. book I. causing the books to be examined again, and then, if they should deserve it, prohibiting them by his own authority, and without inserting the brief: And likewise that the inquisitor-general shall not publish in the court, or out of it, any edict, or expurgatory, without first giving notice thereof to me, by the secretary of dispatch, of grace, and justice, or in his absence, from my person, by the secretary of state;

state; nor without obtaining in answer my consent: And finally, that before any book or paper be condemned by the inquisitor-general, or by the tribunal of the inquisition, they shall hear the defence that the concerned may desire to make, citing them for that purpose, according to the regulations prescribed to the inquisition of Rome by Pope Benedict XIV. in the Apostolic Constitution, which begins, *Sollicita ac provida*, &c. Buen Retiro, the 27th November 1761.

X. The Royal Council of the Indies.

The Duke of ALVA is chancellor of it. This is juridical only.

L E T T E R

L E T T E R III. P A R T II.

COUNCILS, HALLS, and TRIBUNALS.

XI. *R*oyal Council of the Orders of Knighthood.

Instituted for the regulation and government, and to preserve the privileges of those orders, by FERDINAND the Catholic, in 1489. As these Spanish orders seem not to be very well known in England, I will now give some account of them. They are,

1. The Order of the GOLDEN FLEECE.
2. Of ST. JAMES, or SAN JAGO.
3. Of ALCANTARA.
4. Of CALATRAVA.
5. Of MONTESA.
6. Of THE HABIT OF CHRIST.

I. *The Order of the Golden Fleece* came originally from the house of BURGUNDY. PHILIP the Good, Duke of BURGUNDY, instituted it in 1429. The collar of this order has a lamb hanging to it, with this motto, *Pretium non vile laborum*. The present members of this order are as follow :

LIST of the KNIGHTS of the GOLDEN FLEECE; *as it stood in the Year 1760.*

The KING, Chief, and Sovereign of the Order.

The MARQUEZ DE GRIMALDO, Chancellor.

CONDE DE CANILLAS, Registrar.

D. MANUEL MUNOZ Y' HESTARTE, King at Arms.

G

KNIGHTS.

K N I G H T S.

1. DUC DE NOIALLES, March 7, 1702.
2. CONDE DEL MONTIJO, December 9, 1713.
3. DUC DE SULLY, December 31, 1714.
4. MARQUEZ DE ARIENZO, March 16, 1719.
5. The Serene DUKE OF PARMA, May 27, 1723.
6. COMTE DE COIGNI, July 22, 1734.
7. The Serene Infant DON LUIS, October 24, 1735.
8. DUQUE DE SORA, October 21, 1736.
9. DON MIGUEL REGGIO, December 18, 1737.
10. MARQUEZ DE LAS MINAS, January 23, 1738.
11. DUC DE PENTHIEVRE, April 27, 1738.
12. PRINCE ALBERT OF POLAND, November 28, 1738.
13. The KING OF FRANCE, March 13, 1739.
14. The Most Serene DAUPHIN, March 13, 1739.
15. CONDE DE JABLONEWSKI, January 20, 1740.
16. ELECTOR OF BAVARIA, January 20, 1742.
17. DUC DE BELLEISLE, April 5, 1742.
18. DUC DE LAURAGUAIS, June 19, 1745.
19. DUQUE DE ALVA, May 26, 1746.
20. COMTE DE NOAILLES, May 27, 1746.
21. DUQUE DE MEDINA COELI, April 9, 1748.
22. Serene PRINCE OF ASTURIAS, January 3, 1749.
23. DUKE CLEMENT OF BAVARIA, June 11, 1749.
24. MARQUEZ DE LA ENSENADA, April 12, 1750.
25. DUQUE DE BEJAR, April 12, 1750.
26. PRINCE OF PARMA, February 2, 1751.
27. KING OF NAPLES, February 2, 1751.
28. Serene Infant DON GABRIEL, June 9, 1752.
29. Serene DUKE OF ORLEANS, June 9, 1752.
30. PRINCE MASSERAN, September 22, 1752.
31. PRINCIPE DE SAN NICANDRO, September 22, 1752.
32. DUQUE DE BOURNOMBILE, December 18, 1753.
33. MARQUEZ DE VILLA FRANCA, December 18, 1753.
34. DUQUE DE MEDINA-SIDONIA, December 18, 1753.
35. Serene DUKE OF BURGUNDY, March 27, 1754.
36. CONSTABLE COLONNA, December 16, 1755.

- 37. Serene Infant DON ANTONIO, January 16, 1756.
- 38. CONDE DE ARANDA, April 13, 1756.
- 39. Serene Infant DON FRANCISCO, March 11, 1757.
- 40. MARQUEZ DE MONTE ALEGRE, September 5, 1758.

Created since, on the Rupture between England and Spain.

DUC DE CHOISEUL.

CONDE DE FUENTES, &c.

THE grand mastership of this order was made hereditary in the Kings of Spain, of the house of Austria: consequently the present King of Spain has no right to it.—The rest were instituted to encourage a spirit of cruzading.

II. *The Order of San Jago, or St. James*, is divided into twelve governments. It was instituted in the twelfth century, and confirmed by Pope ALEXANDER III. in the year 1175. Its revenues, arising from 87 commanderies, are computed at 230,000 ducats, (28,750 pounds.) Each knight is obliged, by his feudal tenure, to furnish the King yearly with 368 lances, to make war against the infidels. They compound for this with the King, and pay a certain yearly sum.

III. *The Order of Alcantara* was called *the noble*; because, to be a knight, you must prove your nobility for four generations past; whereas the other orders required only a proof through two descents. The knights of *Alcantara* have 38 commanderies, worth 200,000 ducats, (25,000 pounds.) These furnish only 138 lances to the King.

IV. *The Order of Calatrava*, instituted in the twelfth century, for the defence of that city against the Moors in 1158, and Pope ALEXANDER III. confirmed it. They have 54 commanderies, worth 110,000 ducats revenue, (13,750 pounds.) They furnish 300 lances to the King.

V. *The Order of Montesa* is only worn in VALENTIA, and was established in 1317. It has 9 commanderies.

THE King of SPAIN is grand master of these orders.

BESIDES these the present King of SPAIN has now introduced the Neapolitan order of St. JANUARIUS: And has ordered that to be worn in his court above the French order of the *St. Esprit*, or that of the *Golden Fleece*.

XII. *Royal Council of the Hazienda, or Treasury.*

This is not properly the treasury, but rather a court of exchequer: All the King's revenues are received by an annual treasurer, who is generally a member of this body. This council was instituted by PHILIP III.

XIII. *The Hall of the Millones.*

Here are paid in the imposts called *Alcavalas* and *Millones*, the first of which are the most ancient revenues of the crown of SPAIN, established originally by the Moors. They were at first a fifth, afterwards a tenth part of the value on goods bought or sold. They are now about 14 *per cent.* and are exacted also on private consumption, as if you kill your own meat, &c. you pay the *Alcavala*. The *Millones* are a sort of general excise given by the *Cortes* to PHILIP IV. in 1647, are the heaviest tax in all SPAIN, and renewed every six years.

XIV. *The Hall of Justice and Grace.*

This is an office, through which all commissions and grants of the crown pass.

XV. *Tribunal of the Greater Chamber of Accompts.*

This is a check upon the King's treasurers; for the gentlemen of this office audit all their accounts, and can reject any part of them. It was established in 1574, by PHILIP II.

XVI. *General Commission of Crusade.*

When CHARLES V. grew tired of asking money of his *Cortes*, and was willing to free himself from their controul; in order to become absolute, he had recourse to other expedients of getting money, and set himself at work to find other sources, for
his

his royal revenues. With this view he petitioned CLEMENT VII. to grant him the profits arising from the sale of those indulgences, which are contained in the *bull of the crusado*. The Pope very complaisantly granted the request; and the contrivance compleatly answered that prince's expectation: For indulgences have always sold better in SPAIN, than in any other country. There are four *bulls* granted by the see of ROME to SPAIN exclusively; these are,

I. *The Bull of the Crusado*, which grants plenary indulgence to all who shall serve personally for the space of one year in war against the infidels; or if they send soldiers to that service; or if they contribute *two rials of plate* (about the value of an English shilling) for that purpose. In the INDIES, where money was to be had in greater plenty, the price of this bull was prodigious; it has been sold for a pound of gold. Those that purchase this bull twice in one year, have a *double* indulgence or absolution: For it lasts only for the space of one year, so that a new one must be bought annually by every individual. The next bull is,

II. *The Bull for the Dead*. This being bought for any dead person, it ensures them absolution from all sin, and sets them free from purgatory.

III. *The Bull of Composition*. This entitles the purchasers to a right to any stolen goods, or such effects as they may be unlawfully possessed of; for by buying this indulgence, they compound with the Pope for them. How much shorter a process is this, than our English method of hearings in the King's Bench, or a tedious chancery-suit! One twelve-penny indulgence adjudges the property to the thief himself. This the Pope does by virtue of his being supreme lord of all *temporal*, as well as spiritual goods.

IV. The last is *the Bull of Milk*. This is an indulgence to eat flesh, butter, cheese, and eggs in Lent.

THUS you see the business of this council, or *general commission of Crusade*, is to distribute those bulls; to raise a revenue to the
CROWN,

crown, under a pretence of levying a tax for crusading: Its great object is the maintenance of CEUTA, for that is the *sole tenure* by which they hold the grant of those bulls: For were they to lose CEUTA, they would lose all pretensions to this tax, which would revert to the see of ROME. In this council all books of religion are examined; no breviary nor missal can be printed without its licence. It is the depositary of stolen goods unowned. It was erected in the year 1525. All the King's subjects are obliged to buy the indulgence belonging to the *bull of the Crusado*, to enable them to go to confession, receive absolution, and to communicate; for if they bring not this bull, the priests will neither absolve them, nor give them the wafer. This very considerable part of the crown revenues was given in consequence of Cardinal XIMENES's expedition into AFRICA. All the benefices in SPAIN are taxed for the crusade. TOLEDO alone pays 50,000 ducats yearly, (6250 pounds;) the contribution of the clergy is great, but of the laity still more: These bulls are said to produce yearly, in SPAIN only, 1,200,000 ducats (above 57,000 *l. sterl.*) and about double that sum in AMERICA. Those who die without having bought them, die excommunicated.

XVII. *Board of Works and Forrests.*

XVIII. *Council of Commerce, Money, and Mines; or a board of trade.*

XIX. *Junta de Facultades y de Viudedades.*

What the nature of this board is, I cannot say, having made several enquiries in vain about it: Tho' I am inclined to believe, that it relates to cases of property and personal estates, and particularly widows jointures.

XX. *Apostolical Junta.*

To appoint missionaries.

XXI. *Junta of Tobacco.*

To manage the farm of the tobacco.

XXII. *Junta*

XXII. *Junta of the Provisions.*

This is a council of persons of rank and property, who are obliged to furnish MADRID with bread and all other provisions at a fixed price. It has the preference of the first purchase at all markets.

XXIII. *Tribunal of the first Physician.*

DON JOSEPH SUNOL, of the Council of his Majesty, and first Physician of the Chamber, *President*.

DON MIGUEL BARBON, of the Council of his Majesty, and his Physician of the Chamber, *Vice-president*.

DON JOSEPH AMAR, Physician to his Majesty, and first Physician.

DON ANDRES PIQUER, Physician of the Chamber of his Majesty, and first Physician.

DON MATTHIAS DE LA RUBIA, *Assessor*.

DON FR. ANT. DE VERGARA, *Fiscal*.

DON FR. XAVIER DE QUESADA, *Secretary*.

XXIV. *Tribunal of the Nonciature, or Concordate.*

This related, among other articles, to the disposal of *ecclesiastical preferments*. It was abolished by an agreement between the courts of ROME and SPAIN, in 1753.

ACADEMIES ERECTED

In this Court under the Royal Protection.

XXV. ROYAL SPANISH ACADEMY.

HIS EXCELLENCE THE DUKE OF ALVA, Dean of the Council of State, *Director*.

DON FRANCISCO DE ANGULA, *Secretary*.

XXVI. ROYAL ACADEMY OF HISTORY.

D. AUG. DE MONT. Y LUYANDO, perpetual Director for his Majesty, and Secretary of the Chamber of Grace and Justice, and Estudio of Castille.

D. EUG.

D. EUG. DE LLAGUNO AMIROLA, *Secretary* *.

XXVII. ROYAL ACADEMY OF THE THREE NOBLE ARTS,
Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, with the Title of SAN
FERNANDO.

His Excellency D. RICARDO WALL, Protector and Counsellor
of State.

D. TIB. DE AGIRRE, *Vice Protector* of the Council of the Or-
ders.

D. IG. DE HERMOSITTA, *Secretary*.

XXVIII. ROYAL ACADEMY OF PHYSIC AT MADRID.

DON J. SUNOL, *Counsellor* of his Majesty, and his first Physician,
perpetual *President* for his Majesty.

DON A. PIQUER, Physician of his Majesty, *Vice President*, and
first Physician.

DON J. DE ORTEGA, *Secretary*.

* The Academy of History at MADRID was founded in 1713, by the Duke de
ESCALONA, who is well known to the republic of letters. There is another Aca-
demy at SEVILLE, chiefly relating to the Mathematics.

LETTER

L E T T E R I V .

S T A T E o f L I T E R A T U R E , L E T T E R S , a n d M E N o f L E A R N I N G i n S P A I N .

IN regard to learning, and the belles lettres, SPAIN evidently labours under two material disadvantages; which are, the want of a liberty of the press; and the being subjected to the censure of the inquisition. It is easy to imagine how many valuable works of wit, humour, satire, and genius are entirely rendered abortive for want of this liberty; and though it may be attended with some evils and inconveniencies, yet its advantages are evident, from the many entertaining and useful productions, which in our island solely owed their birth to it: for, as one well said, Is it not better for the public, that a million of monsters should come into the world, which are sure to die as soon as they are born, than that one *Hercules* should be strangled in his cradle? Let us bear patiently with the infamous productions of infidelity and faction, as long as we can receive from the same channel, the admirable discourses of a SHERLOCK, or a HARE; the political writings of a BOLINGBROKE, or a BATH, and the various masterly and elegant compositions of a LYTTLETON. What would have become of the wit and buffoonery of Dr. SWIFT, the elegant observations of Mr. ADDISON, and the genteel humour of Sir RICHARD STEELE, if their free and unshackled spirits had been chained down like those of the *Spaniards*? Where would have been those many pleasing and instructive writings which daily sprung up, thro' this liberty, at different periods, in the many controversial wars which

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we

we have had upon subjects of party, politics, learning, and even religion? Would not all these have been destroyed in the bud, if we had seen, as Mr. POPE says, under the throne of Ignorance or Superstition,

Beneath her footstool Science groan in chains,
And Wit dread exile, penalties and pains.
There, foam'd, rebellious Logic, gagg'd and bound;
There, stript, fair Rhet'ric languish'd on the ground?

It is a matter of much more surprize to me, when I consider things in this light, to find that the *Spaniards* are advanced so far as they are in arts and science, than to wonder, that they are got no farther. If we add to this the power and uncontrouled licence, which the Inquisitors or Dominicans have to censure all works printed there, and if they please, to chastise and punish the authors, it would surely make a full apology for SPAIN in this article. I know not well how many *licences* a book must have before it can actually pass the press, but I think at least three. It is usually read by as many censors, and is carefully cleansed by the Catholic sponge, before it falls under the eye of the public. The inquisition never grants any licence, reserving to itself the freedom of condemning or absolving afterwards, as it may judge expedient. The art of this management is apparent. The index of the *Libri Prohibiti* published by the holy office is now increased to two large volumes in folio; and a man must fairly turn over all that work, before he can well know what he dare read. The classics that I opened in the royal library at MADRID were anathematized in the title with these words, *Auctor Damnatus*, and many whole prefatory discourses were erased and blotted out, because, as the librarian told me, *Ils sont contre notre religion*. I have been told by a Spaniard, a friend of mine, that the Dominican library, consisting only of books which they have seized, and which of course are forbidden, is one of the largest and finest in MADRID. I have heard many of them own, that the prohibited books were generally the most worth reading. One in particular told me, that as Father PAUL's history of the council of TRENT was forbidden to be read any where upon earth, he took it with him, and read it at sea. It is no uncommon thing here to see the

the works of our LOCKE, NEWTON and BACON, those immortal glories of human nature, shut up in durance. But how should it be otherwise, when, as BAYLE tells us, in an extract from JOHN of SALISBURY, that Pope GREGORY VI. not only banished mathematics from the court, but burnt a library of heathen learning, in order to give the Scripture more authority. ERASMUS found the weight of this millstone upon the neck of science almost insupportable at the time that he was making such noble efforts for the revival of letters: And the ignorance and indolence of the monks, which he so much exclaims against in those days, is very little altered for the better in the present. Few of them, even now, either understand or talk the Latin tongue; and fewer still are employed in studies of real or useful learning: they are chiefly confined to the narrow limits of the scholastic writers, the polemic divines, and Thomastic or Augustin theology. I speak only in general, for doubtless there are some exceptions, such as a FLORES, a PONCE, a BURRIEL, or a FEIJO; but these are rare, and shine, like lamps in sepulchres, amidst the numerous cells of those useless ecclesiastics. Great part of this dearth of scholars is certainly owing to the want of a due encouragement, a restriction of the liberty of the press, and their subjection to the yoke of the inquisition. And how much they have suffered from these curbs may be easily gathered from a few facts that have passed in SPAIN only. Poor MIGUEL CERVANTES, the inimitable author of *Don Quixote*, underwent many severe sufferings in combating those triple monsters, prejudice, ignorance, and superstition. The incomparable JOHN DE MARIANA, whose labours and studies have done such lasting honour to himself, and to his country, was confined twenty years in prison, and when he wrote his History, he dared not to bring it down any nearer to his own times, for fear of giving offence. And even within these two or three last years, Dr. ISLA, who wrote that pretty satire, *Frey Gerundio*, upon the monks and preachers of these times, has been persecuted and silenced by the inquisition for his impertinent wit.

SUCH being then the true state of the case, we are certainly much obliged to those wits and geniuses in SPAIN, who have had firmness enough to break through all these obstacles, and have

produced works, which have made their names the theme of their own countrymen, and respected and esteemed abroad. The COMPLUTENSIAN Bible* has undoubtedly been the best monument to the memory of Cardinal XIMENES, and would atone, if any thing could atone, for the share which he had in establishing the inquisition. This certainly doubles the merit of such writers, who have been so hardy as to step forth in this country: such as, CERVANTES, COVARRUBIAS, FAXARDO, ZURITA, CABRERA, SANDOVAL, MARIANA, ANTONIO PEREZ, GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, LOPEZ DE VEGA, CARPIO, ANTONIO DE GUEVARA, CALDERONI, ANT. DE SOLIS, HERRERA, &c. It makes us regard in a much higher light such men as ANTONIO AUGUSTINO, VILLALPANDO, L. RAMIREZ DE PRADO, SANCTIUS, and others.

BUT in order to set this point in a clearer view, I will now make some general remarks upon the present state of Divinity, History, Physic, and Poetry in this country, and then subjoin a list and account of the most remarkable writers in each branch.

IN regard to Divinity, it consists much, as it formerly did, in the study of the fathers, councils, the decrees of the popes, and their canons, and in systems of Thomastic and Augustine theology. The knowledge of the learned languages, and explication of the text of the sacred writings, has very little to do with it. In this track of criticism they are almost utter strangers; and I cannot find any thing of late years published in this way: It is holy ground, and therefore dangerous to be approached. In casuistry indeed they are very well versed, and this makes a constant part of the studies of their pastoral office: I suppose it is in some measure necessary to such as must be confessors; but whether it is so far requisite, as to run into such obscene disquisitions, as refine, and reduce sinning to a system, it will be difficult to persuade our divines.

* This was the first *Polyglot* ever printed, and was done at the expence of the cardinal, then archbishop of Toledo. It was about four years in printing, from 1514 to 1517, but not published till 1520, when it came out in 6 volumes, including the Lexicon: It was printed in four languages, the Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, and Latin. This served as a model to that of Mr. Walton, which is more useful and exact, and to that of Mr. Le Jay, printed at Paris with many expensive ornaments.

But that this kind of casuistry is too infamously studied, appears from the many tomes that have been published in this country, and particularly in that curious research of *Sanchez de Matrimonio*. When I say the fathers, take notice I mean the Latin fathers; for as to the Greek, there are very few amongst them, who are able to undertake that task: for the study of the learned languages is here but at a low ebb; Hebrew seems to be rather the most cultivated. It may not be improper to observe, that I am told there is a MS. of St. AUGUSTINE in the Bodleian library at Oxford, in which there is a passage allowing the clergy to marry; which passage is not extant in any Roman-catholic copy that was ever heard of.

THE lawyers in this country get as much money as the practitioners in other countries; and whatever may be said of the slowness of our chancery suits, the tediousness of theirs will at least equal them: A friend of mine, a great merchant at CADIZ, has just obtained a cause at MADRID, after *nine* years attendance; and I could mention some others, which are at this time depending, which probably will never be determined at all. Bribery operates too much in this country; and to do the *Spaniards* justice, they do not disown it. It appeared very plainly in the famous cause of the ANTIGALLICAN privateer, in which the late Sir BENJAMIN KEENE took such patriotic and disinterested pains; and in many others, which might be mentioned.

IN History, the *Spaniards* have many valuable writers. The detail of particular wars, as that of GRANADA, between PHILIP IV. and the MOORS, by MENDOSA, said to be a masterly work; the relation of the succession-war, or partition of the Spanish monarchy, by SAN FELIPPE, &c. the ecclesiastical history of SPAIN by Father HENRY FLORES, in fifteen volumes 4to. &c. the history of particular cities, such as *Toledo*, *Seville*, &c. Their great antiquarians are FLORIO OCAMPO, AMBROSIUS MORALES, MARIANA; REQUESENDIUS for those of PORTUGAL. But I cannot find, that any writer of credit (for some have attempted it) has been yet bold enough to take up the thread of their general history, where MARIANA left it off, that is to say, with FERDINAND and ISABELLA (for the supplement and continuator

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MINIANA I don't consider) and bring it down to these times. Perhaps they do not care to attempt it, for fear of offence; and another reason may be, that the King has absolutely forbid any of his subjects to write the history of CHARLES V.; which, I suppose, is owing to some circumstances relating to religion and that prince, which might be too delicate to touch upon. Tho' it would be both a curious and useful task to trace the secret springs and causes that set a prince of his active and adust complexion upon such various and great enterprizes; who made vast advances towards universal monarchy, and perhaps was nearer to it than any other man ever was since ALEXANDER and CÆSAR; who was not contented to reign while living, but left a political testament for his son's direction after his death; and, what was more extraordinary, a testament, which that son religiously observed and copied from. What can be more astonishing, than to see this same active and restless spirit, all at once, in a fit of disgust, retire to the narrow cell of a poor monk, and there amuse himself with acting over the approaching scene of his own death! For this, however odd it may seem, was certainly done; and tho' alive, he had the same preparations made, of procession, mournings, coffin, &c. as if he really was dead, and was at the same time, what no man ever was before, or will be probably again, the subject, actor, and spectator, all at once, of his own funeral. PHILIP of MACEDON's so much talked of *Memento Mori* was poor to this. This was a sight, which, I believe, few people's curiosity would not wish to have seen. But this was not all: tho' CÆSAR was his model, tho' he conquered all things, he could not, like that Prince, conquer himself: for he soon repented that he ever had resigned the world and his crown, and died at last of chagrin, at the folly of having done that act, which he could never revoke.

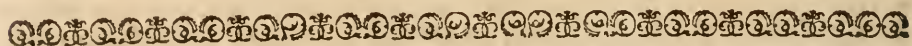
L E T T E R I V . P A R T I I .

S T A T E o f P H Y S I C , P O E T R Y , &c.

I N Phyfic and Chirurgery this country is at least two centuries behind the English. But as those arts are much out of my province, I shall give what I have to offer upon them in the words of one of their most eminent writers. There is scarce any study that takes in such a variety of knowledge as Phyfic doth, and therefore it is no wonder, that the Spaniards, who are slow in all things, have made such a small progress in this part of science. But perhaps the people may be persuaded that they have less occasion for it; where they believe that saints, miracles, and charms, can cure the most inveterate diseases, there must be much less inclination to have recourse to art. They may be willing to leave the more feeble resources of meer human assistance to those, who are so unhappy as to want faith. Not but they have their regular professors in this part of science. Dr. SANGRADO's maxims still prevail among them, notwithstanding they are so finely ridiculed by Mons. LE SAGE, in his GIL BLAS. There cannot be a more striking proof of their want of skill, than the epidemical prevalence of the venereal disease all over this country; tho' possibly they may not desire to have it quite subdued. Give me leave to relate part of a conversation, which I had with a chirurgeon upon that subject. He was sent for by a nobleman to cure him of that distemper, who told his excellency, that if he would follow such a regimen and diet, and regularly take what he prescribed, that he would cure him in a month's time entirely: "Cure me entirely!" replied the nobleman; "no not for the world; I only want you, sir, to correct and lessen it a little; but I would not be cured entirely upon any account: a little of it is the best thing in nature for the health."—"Sir," replied my friend.

friend, “ if your excellence only wants *palliatives*, a Spanish chirurgurgen will answer that purpose as well as me: my business is to cure, not to continue distempers.—Good morning to your excellence.”

As to dispensaries, and accounts of the *Materia Medica*, they may have them, but I met with none. Botany is much studied here, and is well understood: And I am told that the provinces of GALLICIA and VALENTIA afford great plenty of very excellent shrubs and plants.



Part of Father FEIJOO's Discourses upon PHYSIC.

Translated from the Original Spanish.

[The Physicians he chiefly quotes, are, MICHAEL ETMULLER, GEORGIUS BAGLIVIVS, THOMAS SYDENHAM, LE FRANÇOIS, DON MARTIN MARTINEZ.]

THE Spanish physicians follow the system of GALEN, and LAZARUS RIVERIUS: It is from GALEN they have taken the practice of *bleeding* so profusely. But some of the *Spaniards*, such as MARTINEZ, have declared against this practice, and would not admit of it even in putrid fevers; and he said, that the lancet had killed more men, than ever were shot by a train of artillery. FEIJOO seems to be of this opinion: he says, he believes in some cases it may be proper, but difficult to say *when*; that you cannot judge of the goodness or badness of blood by any symptoms, because it alters immediately on coming out of the veins; because every individual's blood is different, and let it appear ever so bad to the doctor, the patient cannot live without it. It is for this reason he condemns all transfusion of blood from one patient to another, as arrant nonsense: and affirms that experiments upon blood confirm this doctrine. Our author is likewise no friend to purging, as he says it carries off the good as well as the bad, the nutritious as well as the pernicious juices; and that it forces the excrements sometimes thro' improper passages. As to saying, that it purges away
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the choler, or *the pblegm*, that is all imaginary ; because purges carry off all things indiscriminately ; and because they give the different colours to the voided excrements by their different tinctures : *Epi-thymy* will give a black dye ; and it is well if this be the worst of it : Physicians should take care lest they kill their friends as well as their enemies, as the Turks did at the siege of Rhodes. In common cases you should never purge ; never in the beginning of fevers, except in cases of turgency, and even then in the beginning it is inexcusable, and in the end doubtful : It is an effort of nature ; leave Her to herself : for purges never affect the morbid matter, unless it happens to be in the *primæ viæ*, and then there is no doubt of the usefulness of purging. Those purges which gripe the most are the best, because the griping comes not from the purge, but from the acid matter they put in motion. And as to vomits and clysters, by the authority of SYDENHAM, I reject them in all fevers. In fine, there is nothing certain in medicine. One physician admires one remedy, which another abhors. What has been said for and against *bellebore* ? for and against *antimony* ? With these they are *panaceas*, with those poisons. What a rout has been made about medicinal stones ! the *bezoar*-stone and many others ? Cordials are much the same. Costly medicines and exotics are just as futile ; all, all a fable. One house-medicine is worth them all. A French physician I have read of used to give all his patients *coffee* ; tho' I am persuaded neither coffee nor tea are of any service. The most known specifics begin to be called in question ; the *bark* has many enemies ; and *mercury* begins to be declaimed against, though it certainly is the most generous medicine in the whole world. I appeal to experience. English salts are hurtful, because they purge too gently. Too much, too many medicines certainly do a patient more hurt, than any other mistaken practice. All physicians abuse remedies ; none observe the *crisis* of distempers ; they should never disturb nature : and to apply many medicines, when nature is fighting with a distemper, is to weaken the patient's force, when he most wants it, and taking side with the disease, instead of taking part with nature. As to ignorant practitioners, it is in vain to dissuade them from giving much physic : but if any physician of real knowledge does it for the sake of assisting the apothecary, and of vending his medicines, the soul of

that physician is in a much more deplorable state, than any patient's body. No view of retaining patients, no reasons of convenience, honour, or of being well with the apothecaries, should induce them to this practice : as they will certainly be culpable in the sight of GOD for whatever damage they may do their patients.

As to physical or medicinal observations, there is great insincerity in them, because a physician gives ONE case in which such a prescription succeeded, and conceals *two*, in which it did not. Every body knows the observations of *Riverius*, which have gained great applause ; and tho' they amount to 400, there is scarce *one* which is not defective : It is very entertaining to see the author boast, that he cures a *bilious cholick* with four bleedings, and four purges mixed up with assistant emollients, anodynes, and other remedies : A prescription, which must take up many days ; whereas in the natural course of the distemper it seldom lasts so long. To make useful observations requires great knowledge, great sincerity, and great sagacity ; and these qualities are not the lot of every physician.

I KNOW not whether this discourse, which I am now publishing, will be agreeable to the gentlemen of the faculty, or not ; they may be afraid, perhaps, if the world should grow out of conceit with *physic*, it may become out of conceit too with its professors, and then some would certainly be discarded, who are now in vogue. But they need never fear, they are safe as to this point ; the world will always remain just as it has done. No genius was ever able to turn the course of those impetuous rivers, prejudice, and custom. How much have QUEVEDO in SPAIN, PETRARCH in ITALY, in FRANCE first MONTAIGNE, and then MOLIERE, declaimed against all physicians and physic ? and with a great deal of truth. Their writings are read, and celebrated. But things remain just as they were. I shall content myself with persuading some few to follow the best means they can for the recovery of their health. Some physicians have so much generous candor, as to own publicly the insufficiency of medicine, and the perplexity of their art : And it is no wonder to see those, whose minds are not so noble,

confiding in phyfic more than it deferves. Some doctors, out of mere policy, conceal the weaknefs of their art; BAGLIVIVS was one of thefe. But fays another; "It is very well for phyficians " to confeß the impotency of phyfic to one another, becaufe they " are judges, and they know it. But there is no occaßion to tell all " this to the vulgar, who believe always that a doctor knows much " more, than he either does, or can know." But I fay on the contrary, that the common people would reap great benefit by fuch acknowledgements, and the phyfician receive no great damage: becaufe if thefe poor people knew how little fecurity there was in phyfic, and that there is fcarce a remedy which is not dangerous; that even the greateft and moft knowing phyficians commit various blunders; that many of thefe patients, who recover, owe their recovery only to their natural ftrength, and they owe to the phyfician the obligation of retarding that recovery: Did they know thefe things, they would have much leß recourfe to phyfic; they would preferve their entrails more entire, and would not fpend that money in bottles of phyfic, which they wanted for other ufes. They would content themfelves with taking fome flight things in their habitual indifpofitions, which are born with them, and which are infeparable from their conftitution, and which no phyfician in the world can cure, notwithstanding their boasted *radical cures*, which are not to be found in *rerum natura*. With this management many delicate ladies would ceafe to be troublefome to their hufbands and families; many men would be ufeful fervants to the public, who are now rendered ufeleß by phyficking themfelves. Thefe, and many other advantages, with the knowledge of how little hope is to be repofed in phyfic, moved me to give this advertifement to the public: and phyficians ought in conßcience to concur with me in undeceiving the public.

AND indeed this would be no damage to the faculty themfelves; at leaft to the learned part of them, and who have acquired reputations as fuch. For, to thefe, employment and fees would never be wanting. Becaufe the cafe would never happen, nor the motive for banifhing all phyficians out of the world, as they were once from ROME. The fine lady would not always fend for the doctor to feel her pulfe; nor the imaginary madman, as in the

comedy of MOLIERE, shriek when nothing ails him; nor the decrepit old fool imagine the apothecary's drugs can remove him some leagues from his grave. By this means the physicians would have more time for study, and reflexion upon their studies and their experiments, as well as to assist at anatomical dissections. The most eminent of the profession would be at leisure to write books: by this means physicians would become more learned, and physic advance daily towards perfection, to which it wants many a good journey still. Physic is indeed recommended in Scripture, but not the physic of these modern times; when we are in really imminent danger, I confess it is prudent to have recourse to it; and that, generally speaking, the quickness and immediate application of the remedy is the most important point. *Opium, Quinquina*, vomits, and very active medicines, may here be of great service, because they induce changes, which nature herself would never produce. If I have expressed myself too strongly in some places about the danger even of cures and physic; it is because I would remove the prejudices of the vulgar, who will follow the blind dictates of even the most ignorant empyric: And I had rather incline them to the other extreme. In all that I have said in this discourse, I have said it under the shade of the most illustrious medicinal writers, and supported by the greatest authorities.

I CONCLUDE with exhorting all, who would choose their physician, to choose one with these qualities. *First*, Let him be a good Christian; because knowing himself accountable to GOD for all his steps, he will take them more seriously and warily, and will really apply himself to the study of his profession. *The second* is, That he be judicious, but of a cool, not warm temperament. *The third*, That he should not be boastful in shewing the power and safety of his art; for those who are such, are either ignorant, or disingenuous. *The fourth* is, That he follow no philosophic system of practice, be addicted to no one set of rules, but guided only by his own experience, and that of the best writers. *The fifth* is, That he be not a giver of many remedies, especially the dangerous ones; holding it as for certain, that all those, who write and prescribe much, are bad physicians, altho' they know all that
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has been wrote about phyfic. The *sixth* is, That he informs himself exactly of the symptoms of distempers, which are many, and drawn from various sources. The generality of physicians, when they have felt the pulse, looked at the urine, peeped into the close-stool, instantly call for pen, ink, and paper—to *prescribe*. The pulse is a symptom very obscure, the urine very fallible : and one cannot be certain of the distemper and its causes (except in a few cases, where they are visible) without attending to the complexion of many circumstances, both consequential and antecedent. The *seventh* is, That his successes should in general answer his prognostications ; I say, in general, because always to do it, they must be angels and not men ; for that circumstance will excuse many others that preceded ; and because it is the only means by which the most ignorant man can discern, who is a physician of skill, and who is an ignorant one : for the certainty of prognostication is a clear proof, that he knows the present state of the distemper ; because by that only which is now, one can know what is to come. On the other hand, that which these prognosticators commonly say, plainly shews they do not know one word of phyfic. Some think the art of foretelling a separate faculty from phyfic ; and thus some physicians are celebrated for foretelling, others for curing : But this is a mistake, for it is impossible, that the cure should be right, and the prognostic wrong, and *vice versa*. Indeed there is one difference, a physician, who misses of the cure may be blamed, but one who fails in his prophesy may be damned. In a dangerous case, an ignorant physician being called in, said it was only a light crudity of the stomach, which would go off the next day. With this assurance the people about the patient never sent for the priests : Soon after the man was seized with a delirium, and died like a Pagan, or brute. The crime commonly attributed to physicians, is, killing the body ; but, in this case, they kill the soul.

OTHER physicians, more cautious, and more artful, take the opposite side ; and whatsoever the distemper is, they always say it is a very dangerous one ; they give out many orders, put the whole family in a fright, offer their attendance, and their art. So that if the patient dies, they are sure to praise the skill of the physician,
who

who said so from the first : If he lives, then the skill of the physician is praised, that he cured so terrible a disorder, and God is thanked that the patient fell into such good hands. One good thing comes from this, that the sick never die without the sacraments. But one evil is, that the fright they are put into sometimes increases the disorder, and kills them. All these ways are full of evil ; altho' the first is the greatest ; but however, gentlemen, ye will find one day the angels, to whose custody the sick are committed, accusing you before God, and placing those before you, who died thro' your fault, or your ignorance.

DISCOURSE VI.

PHYSICIANS know but little of healing the sick ; they know as little what ought to be the proper regimen for those in health ; at least they can give no rules for eating and drinking. This proposition, however absurd it may appear to physicians and others, is proved by the evident variety of habits of body, to which is precisely commensurate the variety of food, both in quality and quantity. One kind of food is hurtful to one, that is good for another ; a quantity that is great for one person is hurtful to another. The proportion of the quantity and quality of food to the habit of each individual can only be known by experience : This experience every man has within himself ; and the physician can only know it by the relation he receives. For I must always tell the physician how much I have eaten and drank, as he cannot know what is proper for me, unless I tell him first what ails me, what fits well in my stomach, what I digest well. The emperor TIBERIUS laughed at those, who consulted physicians after they were thirty years old ; because (he said) at that age every one was able to tell by experience, how to manage themselves. And indeed he seems to have been a striking proof of the truth of his own maxim ; for without being much concerned about his diet, or way of living, he lived 78 years ; and he probably had lived much longer, if CALIGULA had permitted him : for altho' he was very weak, his successor would not trust his death to the strength of any disease : historians agreeing, that CALIGULA helped on his death, altho' they differ in the manner of its being done. However, this maxim

xim of TIBERIUS, generally taken, is certainly true, at least with regard to eating and drinking.

THERE is no eatable, which one can say is absolutely hurtful; this is not my doctrine, but that of HIPPOCRATES, as he has well proved it in his book *De veteri medicina*: for, as he says, if it was hurtful to one, it would be so to all. Cheese, for instance, hurts not every one; there are those who eat of it without the least offence. If cheese, which is so earthy, bad of digestion, and hard, can be taken without hurt, what eatable can we say is absolutely hurtful to all?

QUAILS and goats feed upon poisons, according to PLINY: *Venenis capreae & coturnices pinguescunt*, lib. X. c. 72. That which kills other animals feeds them. Will you say then, that there is a greater diversity of constitutions among the different species of animals, than among individuals of the same species? For my own part I think there is a much greater among the human species. In the observations of SCHENKIUS, he tells us of a man, that eat an ounce of scammony, which neither purged him little or much. And in other medicinal authors we read of some, who were purged by the smell of roses. Is not this a sufficient difference in constitutions? It is true, that in general there is no great difference between the constitutions of men. But there is always some, and that a very material one; habits of body vary like faces; in all such cases as are obvious to our senses we observe some dissimilitude in all men. What can be more simple, than the sound of the voice? And yet there is none like that of another's. Nay, among those who have lived in the same house or community together for many years, it never happens but one can distinguish the voices of them, tho' you do not see them. If this is the case in so simple a thing, how must it be in the constitution, which is combined of such a variety of materials.

IF our senses were more acute, in cases where some men appear much alike, we should find them very different. There are some brutes, which deceive us in the same manner. We do not perceive by smell the effluvia of human bodies; or if we do, we do
not

not distinguish one from the other. The dog perceives them, and distinguishes them in all men : tho' he be at a great distance, he follows his master without seeing him, determining himself, tho' he meets with many roads, by the smell of the *effluvia*, which he finds as he walks : he hunts and chooses out among many others the glove of his master, tho' he never saw it before : and what is more, he recovers a stone thrown by his master among others thrown at the same time by other hands, that little touch sufficing, by which with his subtil smell he perceives a different odour from that of the rest. This is a sufficient proof to convince you of the *difference of constitutions*, because without a difference of constitutions there cannot be a difference in the *effluvia*.

NOT only the variety of constitutions in men makes it impossible to know what diet is proportionate to each ; but also the variety which there is between meats of the same species. All wine of grapes, for instance, is of the same species. Withal, one wine is sweet, another is acid, another bitter ; one has one colour, another smells differently ; one is thinner, another is thicker : It is the same in meats ; the same in the fruits of all the plants, though we do not perceive so strongly in all this variety, upon account of the imperfection of our senses. By this means it may happen, and does continually happen, that altho' it be the same individual, one wine may be wholesome, another noxious. Meat fed in some lands is wholesome food, in others noxious. Add to this a point of no small consideration, that the same food, without distinction, or perceivable difference, may be found, by the same individual, wholesome at one period, and noxious at another, either through the different seasons of the year, the different temperature of the air, the difference of country, or the difference of age. In fine, whatever change happens in the body, that should be a rule to vary more or less the diet in quantity, as well as quality.

THUS I have given some of the celebrated Father FEIJOO's thoughts on physic, and could wish out of humanity for the sake of the Spanish nation, that their physicians were answerable to the character and qualifications he requires. It is obvious enough how little he knows of that necessary art.

IN Poetry they have many writers; such as D. AL. DE ERCILLA, the PRINCIPE ESQUILACHE, ANT. LOFRASO, J. RUFO, PINEDA, FIGUEROA, ANT^o. DE NEBRIXA, the two VEGA's, GARCILASSO, and LOPEZ; CALDERONI, BARRIOS, GONGORRA, and others. But as to a complete list of them, I have never been able to find one; and am much less qualified to decide of their respective merit. LOPEZ DE VEGA CARPIO, as VOLTAIRE tells us, comes the nearest to our SHAKESPEARE. He wrote the *Jerusalem Conquistada*, tragedies, comedies, &c. One thing may be said of the little that I have seen of the Spanish poetry; that there is a wonderful air of simplicity in their common songs, or *seguedillas*: That in some pieces which I read in the *Caxon de Sastre*, or *The taylor's drawer of shreds*, there was much sentiment, as well as dignity: vast variety of measure, all formed on the old Roman prosody; and in some of them a pleasing air of romance: but grave, majestic, moral, pensive, like the people themselves. Very few attempts to wit or humour, and, I believe, none of drollery or buffoonery. Many upon love, but all in the drapery of the chaste *Venus*; no *Erycina ridens*, no *Corinna*, no loose or debauched *Euterpe* among that collection of songs of the *Spanish Nine*.

As to subjects and writers of humour in prose, I know of none among the old *Spaniards*, but CERVANTES and GUEVARA; the most celebrated work of the latter is, the *El Diablo Coxuelo*, or as we should say in English, *The Devil upon two Sticks*, which Mr. LE SAGE modernized into a romance, that is very well known. It is much to be wished, that GUEVARA's original was well translated into English, as we should find in it an infinity of old *Spanish* manners and customs; and the names of all the then nobility at full length; most of which titles and families subsist to this day.

LETTER IV. PART III.

CATALOGUE of SPANISH AUTHORS.

Spanish Writers of HISTORY.

*C*ronica general de España, par Amb. Morales, 4 vol. 4to. Alcala 1577

This writer was the great antiquarian, the CAMBDEN of SPAIN; he has continued the work of FLORIO OCAMPO. SANDOVAL, by the particular command of PHILIP III. carried it down farther to ALPHONSO VII. MORALES wrote also,

Las Antiquidades de las Ciudades de España.

Compendio Historial de las Cronicas de España, par Estevan de Garibays, 4 vol. folio. Barcelona 1628

And *Don Juan de Mariana*.— These two copied MORALES and OCAMPO in great measure. As *Mariana's History of Spain* seems to be so much better known, than that of himself, indulge me in a few words about him. He was born at EBORA, now TALavera, in NEW CASTILE; educated at ALCALA DE HENARES, or the antient COMPLUTUM; he lived at TOLEDO, and published the following works:

- I. On the weights and measures of the antients.
- II. On the exchange of money.
- III. A defence of the Vulgate.
- IV. *De Rege, & Regis Institutione*.— This piece was burnt at ROME and PARIS, and was quoted to authorize Dr. OATES's narrative in the Popish plot.
- V. On the stage.
- VI. His history.

He

He was kept in prison, by order from the Pope, twenty years, in which time he composed his history, as our Sir W. RALEIGH did in the Tower. He wrote it first in Latin, and afterwards in Spanish. But it went no lower than the end of FERDINAND and ISABELLA's reign, about 1516. He wrote, however, a supplement afterwards, down to 1621; and he has had since *three* continuators, *Ferd. Camargo y Salcedo*, to 1649; *Bas. Varen de Soto*, to 1669; *Fr. J. M. de Miniana*, to 1699. The first Latin edition, *Toleti*, 1592, folio, is the best, tho' it contains only twenty books. The last ten are printed in the edition, *Moguntiae* 1605, 4to. The Spanish editions are, *Madrid*, 1608, 2 vol. folio; *Toledo*, folio, 1601; *Madrid*, 1668, and 1670. There is also a new edition, printed at *Amberes* in 16 vol. 12mo. but very incorrect; and one lately at *Madrid*, in 3 vol. folio.

Historia General de Espana, par Don Rodrigo Ximenes de Rada.

Historia del Rey d'Espana Don Phelippe II. par Luis Cabrera,
folio. *Madrid* 1619

Historia del Rey Don Phelippe II. par Ant. de Herrera, 3 vol.
folio. *Valladolid* 1606

Historia del Rey Don Phelippe III. par Gonzalez de Céspedes,
folio. *Barcelona* 1634

Historia de la Rebellion, y Castigo de los Moriscos del Reyno de
Granada, par Luis de Marmol, folio. *Malaga* 1609

Guerra de Granada, hecha por el Rey Don Felipe II. contra
los Moriscos, par Mendoza, quarto. *Lisboa* 1627

Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V. par Prud.
de Sandoval, folio. *Pampelona* 1614

Commentarios de la Guerra de 1700, par el Marquez de San
Felippe, 2 vol. quarto.

This book, which is extremely well wrote, has been translated into French, and was published at Amsterdam in 1756, in 4 vols. 12mo. under the title of *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire d'Espagne, sous le Regne de Philippe V.*

Historia de Espana par Rasis, an Arab, written at *Corduba* in 976.

Continuacion de la Historia General de Espana de ano 1516
 (where MARIANA left off) a 1700, par Medrano, 3 vol.
 folio. Madrid 1741

Volume 1st, CHARLES V. Volume 2d, PHILIP III. Volume 3d, PHILIP IV. and CHARLES II. This is a new work, but I do not find that it bears a very great character. Some able men, whom I consulted, lamented much their not having any good history of SPAIN carried down to the present times. This is surprising, as it will plainly appear from the face of this list, that no country in the world possesses better materials from whence to compile such a history. Their chroniclers are numerous: such as,

The *Cronicon* of FLAVIUS DEXTER.
 M. MAXIMUS.
 ELECA.
 BRAULION.
 LUITPRANDO.
 HUGO PORTA.
 JULIAN.
 ST. ATHANASIUS.
 GR. BETICUS.
 HUB^S. HISPALIS.
 LIBERATUS OF GIRONA.
 ILLACII.
 ABB^S. VALCLARA.
 L. RAMIREZ DE PRADO.
 DE WULFILAS.

Cronica de Espana del Don Alonzo el Sabio, folio. *Valladolid* 1604
Cronica de los Reyes Don Fernando y Isabel, folio. *Saragossa* 1567
Cronica Gotica de Saavedra.
Cronica de los Moros de Espana, par Juan de Bleda, folio.
Valentia

BESIDES these, they have the annalists of the several kingdoms or provinces: thus,

Annales del Reyno de Espana, in several volumes in folio.
 ——— *de Catalonia*, 2 vol. folio.

Annales

Annales de Valentia.

— de Arragon, par Hyeronimo Zurita.

This writer is very well known to the learned world for his other works : these annals of Arragon are very finely wrote.

Arragonensium Rerum Commentarii, par Hyeron de Blancas,
folio. Cæsar Augustæ 1588

Geographica & historica Descriptio Cataloniæ, par Petro de
Marca, folio. Paris 1688

After these come the histories and antiquities of particular cities, which are also very numerous : such as,

Las Antiquedades de Madrid, par Quintano.

Sevilla, par Rod. Caro, folio. Sevilla 1634

Salamanca, par Gonsalvo de Avila.

Granada, par Pedraza.

Description de la Ciudad de Toledo, par Fr. de Pifa, folio,
Toledo 1605

— par Vergara, folio.

— de Madrid.

— del Monasterio de San Lorenzo del
Escorial, par Fr. de los Santos, folio. Madrid 1681

This is the book which Mr. THOMPSON has translated into English, and made so magnificent an edition of lately in quarto. It is to be wished, that the inscriptions in this work had been more correctly copied ; they are often false Latin, imperfect, and make a very unscholar-like appearance.

Historia de la Ciudad de Segovia, par Don Diego de Colme-
narez, folio. Segovia 1637

Las Antiquedades de Cordova, par Pedro Dias de Ribas, 4to.
Cordova 1627

Miscellaneous Books and Writers.

Las Obras del Padre Feijo, 13 vol. quarto.

This writer, who lives at BURGOS, has justly acquired a very high degree of reputation: He has done more towards rightly forming,

forming, and enlarging the minds of his countrymen, than any Spaniard before him. He declares war against all their vulgar prejudices, and popular errors; has said much freer things than those, who write within the circle of the inquisition, very prudently care to do; and, if the court had not protected him, he himself had felt the Dominican scourge long ago.

Description Igleſiaſtica del Reyno de Eſpana, 3 vol. fol.

Obras de Don Bern. Aldreti, ſive Explicatio Characterum antiquorum, 2 vol. 4to.

Origines Rivorum Orbis, par Don Greg. Mayans y Siſcar, 2 vol. 4to.

Origines Litt. Ant. Hiſp. par Manuel de Sarramendi, 8vo.

Obras de Braganza de Ant. Rom. 5 vol. fol.

Concilia Max. Hiſpanica, 7 vol. fol.

Polygraphia Eſpagnola, par Rodriguez, fol. Madrid 1738

Diario de los Literatos en Eſpana, 7 vol. 8vo. Madrid 1748

Concilia Toletan, par Jorge Loyſa.

La Laya de Coronicas, par Alph. Martinez.

Eſcritores del Reyno de Valencia, par Ximenes, 2 vol. fol. Valencia

Enſayo ſobre las Medallas de Eſpana, par Don L. J. Velasquez, 4to. Madrid 1752

Annales de la Nation Eſpagnol, par Don L. J. Velasquez, 4to. Malaga 1759

De las Medallas de los Reyes Gothicos, y Suecos en Eſpana, par Don L. J. Velasquez: cum viginti tabulis æri incifis, 4to. Madrid 1752

Noticia de los mas principales Hiſtoriadores de Eſpana, par el Marquis de Mondecar, 4 vol. fol.

This is a very learned, uſeful, and judicious work.

Conquiſta de Mexico et Peru, par Don Ant. de Solis, fol.

There is a very handſome copy of this book in Spaniſh lately printed at Barcelona.

Yſtoria de los Incas de Peru, par Garcilaſſo de la Vega. Herrera de Agricultura.

Iſtoria de las Indias, par Herrera, 6 vol. fol.

Obras de Palamino ſobre la Pintura, 2 vol. fol.

An Account of the Spanish Paintings, by Palamino Velaſco, and Francisco de los Santos; reprinted in Spanish by H. Woodfall, London 1746

Uno Pedazo de Lapiz, para dibujar de mejor que ſe puede encontrar.

Historia Latina Hispaniæ, par Sanchez.

Impreſas Politicas, par Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.

This is a collection of political emblems; it is not written by the author of *Don Quixote*, but by a much older writer of the ſame name. His works are in 3 vol. folio.

El Diablo Coxuelo, or the Lame Devil, par Ant. de Guevara.

Mr. Le Sage's *Devil upon Two Sticks*, is taken from this work.

Coroniſta de los Reyes Catholicos, por 1500, par Gonzalo de Arcedondo.

Obras de Sepulvedo.

— *de Villalpando.*

— *de Bonaventura.*

Criticon de Lorenzo Graziano, 2 vol. 4to.

This celebrated writer was a native of CALATAJUD, or the ancient *Bilbilis*. His writings are full of an abſtruſe and ſublime policy; and have been tranſlated into French by the famous Monſ. AMELOT.

Historia del Famoſo Predicador Frey Gerundio de Campaſas,
4to. Madrid 1758

Or, *The hiſtory of the famous preacher*. This is a ſatire upon the monks, written with much ſpirit and wit. For a ſpecimen of the high ridicule, and ſatirical drollery employed in this work, take the following extract. Chap. 8. book II. page 205. *Frey Gerundio* preaches the anniversary ſermon in his convent, in the chapel dedicated to St. ANNE, on the feſtival of that ſaint: in which ſermon there is the following paragraph: *Fue Ana, como todos ſaben, madre de nueſtra Senora, y afirman graves authores, que la tuvo veinte meſes en ſu vientre: Hic menſis ſextus eſt illi; y anaden otros, que illoro: Plorans ploravit in noctem: De donde infero que fue Maria Zaborri: et gratia ejus in me vacua non fuit. Atienda,*
pues,

pues, el Rethorico al argumento : Santa Ana fue madre de Maria : Maria fue madre de Christo : Luego Santa Ana es Abuela de la santissima Trinidad : Et trinitatem in unitatem veneremur. Por esso se celebra en esta su Casa, Hæc requies mea in sæculum sæculi. . . . Which is in English : “ We all know, that Anne was the mother “ of our Lady, and grave authors affirm, that she was twenty “ months in gestation of her : others add, that she wept : from “ whence I infer, that she was Mary Zahorri. Attend, logician, “ to the argument : Saint Anne was the mother of Mary ; Mary “ was the mother of Christ : therefore Saint Anne was the grand- “ mother of the most holy Trinity. And therefore she is cele- “ brated by this festival in this her chapel.”

THERE is no doubt but Dr. ISLA, that *Spanish Swift*, who wrote this satire, had copied this from the real sermon of some Spanish monk : the Latin citations are very much in their manner. They were so galled and irritated by the severity and propriety of this fine ridicule, that they soon got the inquisition to forbid the sale of the book : It occasioned some pamphlets at Madrid in answer to it. The author intended a second part ; but the persecution becoming too serious, he dropped his design.

IN page 214. and the following, the provincial calls *Frey Gerundio* to an account for this sermon : “ Don’t you see, Sir,” says the provincial, “ that by saying, that Saint Anne is the grand- “ mother of the most holy Trinity, you advance one of the “ most formal heresies possible : Because the Trinity is uncreate, “ unproducible, eternal, and consequently can have neither mo- “ ther nor grand-mother. By this you see how necessary it is to “ study theology, in order to be a preacher ; for, had you pro- “ perly studied it, you had not advanced such heresies as this. “ If you had put no more in your *sumula* than you ought, you had “ never drawn such a consequence : but only this, *Therefore Saint “ Anne is the Grandmother of Christ*. For Christ is not the Tri- “ nity, but only the second person in it : thus *Frey Gerundio* is a “ monk of the convent, but not the convent. It would be wretched “ reasoning to say, *Cecilia Rebollo* was the mother of *Catanla Ce- “ bollon* ; *Catanla Cebollon* was the mother of *Frey Gerundio de* “ *Zotes*,

“ Zotes, monk of the convent of the lower *Colmenar*, therefore Cecilia Rebello was the grandmother of the convent.”

This specimen will suffice to shew the turn of that satire.

El Itinerario del Obispo de Santo Domingo.

Los Dialogos del Antonio Augustino, Obispo de Tarragona, sobre las Medallas, 4to. Madrid 1744

This learned work is sufficiently known. The edition is a very mean one, bad paper, full of errors, and the plates miserably engraved.

Historia del Convento de San Augustino de Salamanca, par Padre Emman. Vidal, 2 vol. fol. Salamanca 1758

Hippocrates in Greek and Latin, with a Spanish translation, by Dr. And. Piquer, Professor of Anatomy in Valentia. Madrid 1758

Antient and Modern Physic, by the same, 4to. ib. 1758

A Treatise on Fevers, founded on Observation and Mechanism, by the same, 4to. Valentia 1751

Moral Philosophy, for the use of the Spanish Youth, by the same, 8vo. Madrid 1757

Discourse on the Application of Philosophy to Matters of Religion, by Dr. And. Piquer, 8vo. Madrid 1757

Bibliographia Critica, by Father Miguel de San Joseph, Bishop of Guadia.

Abridgment of Navigation, for the use of the Marine Guards, by Don Jorge Juan, 4to. Cales 1757

Retorica de Don Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, 2 vol. 8vo. Valentia

Moralis Philosophia, by the same, 8vo. Valentia

Relation of the War in Valentia, and the Entrance of the Allies and Austrians into that Kingdom, by Jos. Emm. Miniana, 8vo. Hague 1752

There are many tracts of Spanish lawyers, collected by Don Greg. Mayans y Siscar, published by Mr. Meerman, the Syndic of Rotterdam, in his

Novus Thesaurus Juris Canonici, 7 vol. fol.

- De Ant. Canonum Cod. Ecclesiæ Hisp. Hist. Dissertatio, per*
Don Lopez de Barrera, 4to. Rome 1758
- The History of John Cardinal Carvacallo, dedicated to the
 Prime Minister in Portugal. *ibid.* 1752
- Elements of Arithmetic and Algebra, by Father Thomas
 La Cerda, 2 vol. Barcelona 1758
- Curious and learned Fragments of modern Authors, with
 Maxims of a general Critique, by Don Lewis Roche,
 Port St. Mary's 1758
- Espana Sagrada*: or, The History of the several Dioceses
 and Churches of Spain, by Father Henry Flores, an
 Augustine Monk, 15 vol. 4to. Madrid 1747
- History of the Queens of Spain, 2 vol. 4to. Madrid 1760
- A very poor performance.
- A Compendium of Theology, by the same, 5 vol. 4to.
- The Miracles of Mother Mary of Ceo, translated from the
 Portuguese, by the same, 2 vol. Madrid 1744
- Treatise of Virtue, by Father Francis, translated by the
 same, 2 vol. 4to. Madrid
- Historical Key, by the same, 4to. *ibid.* 1749
- Medallas de las Colonias Romanas, y Municipios, &c.* by the
 same, 2 vol. 4to. *ibid.* 1758
- He has placed in this collection those which Vaillant, Mezzobar-
 ba, and others have published, but with the addition of many new
 ones: he has added an explanation of each; 58 plates, and a map
 of the site of the colonies. This is a good book; it should have
 been wrote in Latin; but that is a language with which Spanish
 monks are but little conversant.
- Origin of the Castilian Poetry, 4to. Malaga 1754
- Means of advancing the Belles Lettres, by Francis Xavier
 de Idiaquez, 8vo. Villagarcia 1758
- This writer is the eldest son of the late Duke of Granada, grandee
 of Spain.
- Dissertatio de Deo Endovellico, par Miguel Perez Pastor,*
 4to. Madrid
- Phy-

- Physico-Medical Dissertations on Breathing, and of conveying Remedies into the Veins, by Ant. Jos. Rodriguez, 4to. Madrid 1760
- A Critico-Medical Dissertation to introduce true Physic, and banish the false, by the same, 6 vol. 4to. Madrid 1754
- Theological Reflections, Canonical and Medicinal, upon Fasting, 4to. Madrid 1748
- An Account of California, by Andrew Marc Burriel.
- Palæographia Hispanica*, by the same, 4to. ibid. 1758
- Of the Authority of the Laws of the *Fuero Juzgo*, or famous Gothic Code, by the same, 4to. Madrid
- This is a very learned, judicious, masterly, and ingenious work. See the extract from it, concerning the Spanish measures.
- Tratado de la Ortographia Espanola*, par Juan Perez Castie. y Artigues, 8vo. Valencia 1727
- Memorias Hist. de la Fundacion de la Universidad de Valencia*, 4to. Madrid 1730
- Historia grande real*, par Joseph Gonzalez ibid. 1746
- Historia Civil de Espana*, de 1700 a 1733, par Manuel Fernandez ibid. 1740
- De los Derechos Nacional y Romano en Espana*, par Don Thomas Ferrandis, 4to. ibid. 1747
- Sobre unos Monumentos Antiguos*, 4to. Valencia 1736
- Ambassades du Marechal Bassompierre en Espagne*, 4 vol. 8vo. Cologne 1668
- Voyage en Espagne, fait en 1655*, 4to. Paris
- The Lady's Travels* is a translation from this book, a spurious work.
- Voyage en Espagne*, par Madame la Comtesse D'Aunois, 3 vol. 12mo. Paris 1691
- Voyages d'Espagne*, par le Pere Labat.
- L'Etat present d'Espagne*, par l'Abbé Vayrac.
- Lettres de Madame de Villars, Ambassadrice en Espagne*, 12mo. Amsterdam 1761
- Annales d'Espagne & de Portugal*, par Don Juan Alv. de Colmener, 2 vol. 4to. ibid. 1741
- L'Hij-

L'Histoire d'Espagne, par M. Deformeaux, 5 vol. 12mo.

Paris 1759

Memoires sur le Commerce, & les Finances d'Espagne, 2 vol. 12mo.

Amsterdam 1761

Tour through Spain and Portugal, by Udal ap Rhys, 8vo.

London 1760

Theory and Practice of Commerce, by Don Geronymo de Ustariz, 2 vol. 8vo.

London 1761

Dr. Geddes's Tracts, 4 vol. 8vo.

ib. 1709

Memorable Expulsion de los Moriscos de Espana, 4to.

Pampelona 1613

Inscriptiones Antiquæ in Hispaniâ repertæ, per Ad. Occo-
nem, folio.

Heidelb. 1596

Compendio de la Vida del Card. Ximenes, y del officio, y Missa
Muzarabe, par Eugenio de Roblez, 4to.

Toledo 1604

This *Mosarabic Mass* is one of the greatest curiosities in all SPAIN; it is celebrated at TOLEDO. The present King of SPAIN heard so much said of it, that he assisted at it in person.

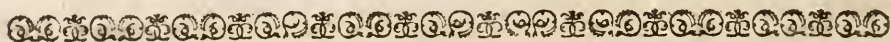
De Regis Hispaniæ Regnis & Opibus, par De Laet, 8vo.

Lugduni Bataravorum 1619

L. And. Requesendii Antiquitates Lusitanicæ, 8vo.

Coloniæ Agripp. 1613

I have set down the titles of most of the new books in English, for the sake of the English reader.



SPANISH POETS.

QUEVEDO. The same author who wrote those *Visions*, which we have translated into English.

LOPEZ DE VEGA CARPIO, who wrote the *Jerusalem Conquisted*, tragedies, comedies, &c.

CALDERONÍ, the celebrated comic Poet. The great favourite of the Spanish nation: they relish little else upon the stage, but what he has wrote. See the article *Stage*. His works are in eight or nine volumes 4to.

Don.

DON ALONZO DE ERCILLA.

GIL POLO, PRINCIPE DE ESQUILACHE.

ANTONIO LOFRASO.

JUAN RUFO.

PINEDA.

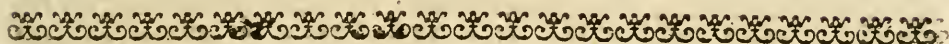
FIGUEROA.

ANTONIO DE NEBRIJA.

GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA.

DON MIGUEL DE BARRIOS.

GONGORRA, &c.



A LIST of Modern *Spanish* LITERATI,

(Most of them, I believe, now living.)

FATHER FEIJOO of BURGOS.

Father BURRIEL, a great antiquarian, in the imperial college of Jesuits at MADRID.

Father HENRY FLORES, of the Augustine order, historian, and medallist.

— FLORES, his brother, antiquarian.

— SARMIENTO, a Benedictine, has studied natural history, botany, and the languages.

— PONCE, a Franciscan, master of the oriental languages.

— ISLA, the author of *Frey Gerundio*.

— MIGUEL PEREZ PASTOR, antiquary and medallist.

— VELASQUEZ, antiquary and medallist.

SAN FELIPPE (Marquis of) an officer, an envoy from the court of SPAIN to Genoa.

DON GREGORIO MAYANS Y SISCAR, a gentleman who lives at Oliva near Valentia, and tho' 63 years old, pursues his former studies with a vigour beyond his years. He was born at Oliva in 1699, and made library keeper to PHILIP V. at Madrid, in 1733, which place he

he threw up in disgust, in 1740. He has the *Testimonia Eruditorum* of the greatest scholars in most parts of Europe in his favour. He is commended by Luis Antonio Muratori, in his *Supplement to Grævius and Gronovius*, published at Venice in 1740: by John Burcard Menkenius, president of the university of Leipzig, in the *Acta Lipsiaca*: By Christ. Aug. Heumannus, in his *Via ad Historiam Literariam*: By Marc. Aug. Beyer, in his *Memoriæ Historico-criticæ Librorum Rariorum, Lipsiæ* 1734: By Fred. Otto Menkenius, in his *Notes* to his father's life: By Gottofrid Mascou, aulic counsellor to his late Majesty King GEORGE II. and professor of law in the university of Gottingen, in his *Preface to Gravina's Works*: By J. Gott. Heineccius, counsellor to the King of Prussia, who published *Corn. Van Bynkershoek*: By Peter Wesseling, in his *Preface to the Epistles of Don Man. Marti, Dean of Alicant*, printed at Amsterdam in quarto, 1738: By the present Earl of Granville, who prefixed the life of Don Quixote, wrote by Don Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, to the noble impression he published of that romance in 1738, in 4to, and which he dedicated to the countess of Montijo, the Spanish ambassadress in London.—His brother, Don Antonio, lives with him, and pursues the same studies. As I was much obliged to this gentleman for the favour of his correspondence, I could not refuse this little acknowledgement:

Don PEREZ BAYER, canon and treasurer of the metropolitan church of Toledo; an universal scholar, a great master of Hebrew and the oriental languages. He was sent, in the late reign, by order of the court, into Italy, to pick up MSS. and medals: he has a very fine cabinet of Roman medals in his own possession, and seven Hebrew MSS. which he has promised to collate for the use of Dr. Kennicott. He has published a very learned work, intitled, *Damasus & Laurentius Hispanis vindicati, Romæ*, 4to. He has written besides, *Dissertatio de Antiquissimo Hebræorum Templo, Toleti reperto*; and, *De Nummis Samaritanis, & qui vocantur Medallas Desconocidas*. These two are not yet published, but I believe the latter will soon be printed. This gentleman is of the order of the Jesuits, and very much esteemed by the court. As I have received several very obliging letters and civilities from him, this justice is at least due to his merit.

Padre TERREROS.

Don LOPEZ DE BURRERA.

DON LEWIS ROCHE.—FRANCIS XAVIER IDIAQUEZ, eldest son of the late Duke of GRANADA.—ANTONY JOSEPH RODRIGUEZ.—Pere EMMANUEL VIDAL.—Dr. ANDREW PICQUER, professor of anatomy in VALENTIA.—ANTONIO CAPDEVILA, professor of physic in VALENTIA.—Bishop of GUADIA.—DON VICENTIO XIMENES.—JOS. EMMANUEL MINIANA, continuator of Mariana's history.—JUAN PEREZ CASTIEL Y ARTIGUES, Valentian.—JOSEPH GONZALEZ, historian. MANUEL FERNANDEZ, or BELLANDO, historian.—DON THOMAS FERRANDIO, historian.—DON JORGE JUAN, DON ANT. DE ULLOA, mathematicians.

The Count GAZOLA, a very learned and skilful judge of architecture, painting, and the elegant arts. He intends publishing the ruins of the antient *Pœstum* in ITALY, so famous for its roses. He is a lieutenant-general, chief engineer, and intendant of his majesty's fabrics and buildings.

MICHAEL SYRI, a Syro-Maronite, perfect master of the Eastern languages, and chief librarian to his majesty at MADRID. He has published the first volume of the catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Escorial. It is a very fine work in folio, well printed, and contains large specimens of each MS. and an accurate account in Latin.

THE other librarian, whose name I forgot, intends likewise to publish the catalogue of the Greek MSS.—but it will be some time before it will come out.

Of the UNIVERSITIES in SPAIN.

THE Universities in Spain are very numerous; but it may be easily seen, from the preceding account, that the state of learning in them must be at a very low ebb. I believe, among them, that of SALAMANCA claims the precedence. There is very little of the learned languages, the belles lettres, or indeed, of true and sound learning studied in them. To say the truth, a good political reason might be assigned for this; the study of true and sound learning, if well pursued and cultivated, would let in too much light: and how far that might be prejudicial to the inter-

refts of their religion, I cannot fay. The univerfity of VALENTIA feems, at prefent, to have the faireft claim to precedence in point of learning; but that is owing folely to the example, directions, and instructions of that eminent fcholar Don GREGORIO MAYANS Y SISCAR. They are twenty-three in number.

One in LEON.

1. SALAMANCA,

founded in 1200, by ALFONSUS IX:

Six in the CASTILLES.

2. PALENCIA,

founded in 1200.

3. VALLADOLID,

— in 1346.

4. SIGUENSA,

— in 1471, by C. XIMENES.

5. TOLEDO,

— in 1475.

6. AVILA,

— in 1445.

7. ALCALA DE HENARES,

{ — in 1498, by C. XIMENES; next in rank to SALAMANCA.

Four in ANDALUSIA.

8. SEVILLE,

founded in 1503.

9. GRANADA,

— in 1531.

10. BAESA,

— in 1533.

11. OSSUNA,

— in 1549.

Two in ARAGON.

12. HUESCA,

founded in 1354.

13. SARAGOSSA,

— in 1474.

Three in VALENTIA.

14. VALENTIA,

founded in 1470.

15. GANDIA,

— in 1549.

16. ORIHUELA,

— in 1555.

Three in CATALONIA.

17. LERIDA,

founded in 1300.

18. TORTOSA,

— in 1540.

19. TARRAGONA,

— by PHILIP II.

N. B. PHILIP V. in 1717, deprived thefe in CATALONIA of their charters, and gave them to CERBERA, a town in the fame province, which had declared for him.

One in GALLICIA.

20. SAN JAGO DE COMPOSTELLA, founded in 1532.

One in GUIPUSCOA.

21. ONATE,

founded in 1543.

One in ASTURIAS.

22. OVIEDO,

founded in 1580.

One in NAVARRE.

23. PAMPELUNA,

founded in 1608.

The rank of them are as follows.—SALAMANCA, ALCALA, VALLADOLID, SEVILLE, SARAGOSSA, VALENTIA, LERIDA.—The reft are of no moment.

There are, however, in these universities, some valuable books and MSS. which the possessors themselves make no great use of: such as manuscripts of PRISCIAN and DONATUS, in Gothic characters, with Arabic notes; MSS. of SALLUST, SENECA, and OVID; two Gothic Bibles, written before the invasion of the MOORS, and a very old Hebrew manuscript of the Bible: all at the city of TOLEDO. A Gothic Bible at ALCALA DE HENARES, where there are the finest MSS. of the Hebrew Bible in the world. In the Royal Library at MADRID there are of first editions, PLAUTUS, *Venetis* 1472; LIVIUS, *ad tertium librum tertii decadis*, 1485; VIRGILIUS, *Venetis* 1475; ODYSSEA HOMERI, *per Bern. Deme- trium Milanensem, Florentiæ* 1488; HESYCHIUS, *Florentiæ*, 1520; Idem, *Aldi*. 1514.



[As the two following *Latin Epistles* contain several particulars relating to the Present State of Literature in SPAIN, especially the latter, in which are so many curious facts and observations, together with a list of the works of his own countrymen, the VALENTIAN Writers, from the beginning of this century, I have thought proper to insert them in this place. The literary history of the two gentlemen, who wrote them, has been already given to the reader. He will meet with some uncommon words and phrases in them, but they are *Plautinæ Dictiones*, a book which the *Spaniards* much delight in.]

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FRANCISCUS PEREZIUS BAYERIUS
EDUARDO CLARKE,

S. P.

QUANQUAM mane a prandio, summum perendie matritum cogitem, qua in urbe ut te praesentem praesens alloquar sperare mihi fas sit: nolui tamen perbreve hanc temporis usuram negligere, aut tecum interea parum officiosus videri, qui me tuis humanis

M

nissimis

nissimis literis provocasti. In iis quod me nihil tale meritum effusis laudibus cumulas, perbenignè mecum agere videris, qui fundi mei fines angustiasque probè intelligo. Totum igitur muneris est tui, a quo nihilominus laudari, pergratum mihi est ac perjucundum.

DISSERTATIUNCULAM de Toletano Hebræorum Templo summis olim precibus extorquere à me voluit vir cl. Blasius Ugolinus, antiquitatum Hebræicarum collector atque illustrator, ut eam thesauro suo infereret, nec tamen obtinuit; nolui enim committere ut vix exasciatum ac planè tumultuarium opus publici juris fieret, id quod nunc etiam in causa est quo minus de eodem Hispanis aut exteris typis edendo ulterius cogitem: saltem donec eidem supremam manum impoſuero.

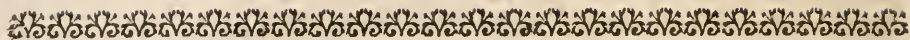
IN DAMASO & LAURENTIO Hispaniæ asserendis, non ego pro arbitrio, neque ut ingenium periclitarer, argumentum mihi selegi, sed coactus aliorum importunitate. Cum enim nihil ego minus quam ea de re cogitarem, ac ne nossem quidem de utriusque patria litem Hispanis intentari, bonæque eisdem fide in ephemeridibus nostris inter divos patrios retulissim, cum risu & cachinnis exceptus sum a nonnullis Romanorum hypercriticis, quasi Romanam illorum patriam, rem scilicet lippis atque tonsoribus notam, unus ego omnium ignorarem. Itaque coactus eam provinciam suscepi; quod tamen nolim ita intelligas, quasi me locatæ in eo argumento operæ uspiam pœnituerit, aut pœniteat. Quamvis enim alia defint omnia in opusculo illo (quod ego non diffiteor) sunt nihilominus aliqua per occasionem explicata quibus, si me mea non fallunt, rei *liturgicæ*, atque historiæ *ecclesiasticæ* non parum lucis affulgere potest; præterea universum opus pietatem in patriam ubique spirat, deque ea benemerendi studium, quod nemo unquam bonus reprehendit. In eo autem an *Usserium* alicubi nominaverim, non satis memini: tantum abest ut ipsum, qua de re mihi subiraſceris, parvi fecerim. (Pearſonum & Dodwellum, p. 19.) Dodwellum merito suo carpo, quod & multi ante me præſtitere, alii quidem alio nomine, ego quod miſerè ſeſe excruciet, totuſque in eo ſit, ut cœlites ipſos e ſedibus deturbet ſuis, et ſi quem denique e ſanctorum martyrum albo expungendum pro lubidine ſibi perſuadet, geſtit, erumpit

præ gaudio, triumphumque putat palmarium. Egregiam vero laudem! Itaque ut verbo absolvam, Dodwelli in hac parte iudicium odi ac detestor, doctrinæ nihil detractum volo. Menagium ibidem dum genio ad facetias atque hilaritatem composito nimis obescundat, sæpissime scurram agit. Nihil est in Cælo sordium. Valeat Lucianus! Sed de his plus fatis.

HEBRAÏCOS Veteris Testamenti Codices, qui scilicet aut totum illud, aut Pentateuchum, aliosque sacri Fœderis libros continent penes me habeo circiter *viginti quinque*. Erunt forsan nonnulli sæculo duodecimo exarati, aut eo non multo recentiores; unus certe omnium ante ejusdem sæculi dimidium scriptus est: habet enim in fine numeralem notam anni ab orbe condito 4904, quem salutis anno 1144 respondere optime nosti. De collatione ac variantibus, quod ais, Toleti res est supra quam dici potest impedita; pauci enim ea in urbe sunt, qui Hebraïcas litteras norint, nec sine duorum minimum interventu negotium istud peragi tutò potest.

DOMINO Pitt, quanquam paullo quam oportuerat seriùs fidem tamen meam liberabo. Sustineat me interea quæso & aliis implicitum, & summâ quoque adumbratorum inopiâ ibidem in hac urbe laborantem. De nummis plura coram Deo Optimo Maximo desuper largiente, a quo tibi felicia omnia comprecor & fausta.

TOLETI, *postridie Idus Junias*, M.DCC.LXI.



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E P I S T O L A

Domini GREGORII MAJANJSII,
GENEROSI VALENTINI,

EDUARDO CLARKE

A M A N D A T A.

MEUM ingenium ad amicorum obsequium paratissimum facit, ut illi de me multo præclarius & sentiant, & loquantur, quàm ipse mereor. Itaque si fidem adhibueris eorum testimoniis, senties nimis magnifice de meo studio literarum. Tu, vir prudentissime, si decipi non vis, voluntatem meam pluris facito, quàm facultatem satisfaciendi desideriis tuis. Illa sponte sua sæcundissima est; hæc, invito me, sterilis: prout nunc experior fane perdolenter. Vellem enim Sacrorum Bibliorum omnes *Hebraicos codices*, qui latent in Hispaniæ Bibliothecis, in potestate mea habere, & publicè exhibere, ut a viris doctissimis cum aliis codicibus conferrantur, in commune Christianæ Reipublicæ bonum, & incrementum. Mihi enim in mentem venit illud Isaïæ a Michea repetitum: * *Ibunt populi multi, & dicent, Venite & descendamus ad montem Domini, & ad domum Dei Jacob, & docebit nos vias suas, & ambulabimus in semitis ejus: quia de Sion exhibit lex, & verbum Domini de Ierusalem.* Gloriorque ejus discipulum esse, qui cum sit Verbum Æternum, de se professus est: *Ego palam locutus sum mundo: ego semper docui in synagoga, & in templo, quò omnes Judæi conveniunt, & in occulto locutus sum nihil.* Quare *Vetus* illud Testamentum, quod ille coram omnibus revolvere & legere solitus fuit; itemque *Novum*, quod ipse jussit scribi, & omnibus gentibus annuntiari; existimo minime occultari debere; sed ibi proponendum, unde de plano recte legi possit. Sed cum libri sacri Hebraica lingua scripti, in Hispania legi desierint ob ejus linguæ inusum, atque hic

* Micah iv. 2.

inusus ortum habuerit a metu, & postea ab ignorantia confirmatus sit; inde factum est, ut in privatis bibliothecis non supersint, & in publicis religiosè custodiantur. Cum autem Hispani habemus regem, qui superstitiosus non est; credo eum, modo petentis adsit auctoritas, & prudentes cautiones adhibeantur, minime denegaturum sacrorum codicum lectionem, collationem, descriptionem, & quidquid necesse sit ad divini verbi sententiam intelligendam. Quod si Rex Catholicus voluerit, crede mihi, impedimenta omnia quæ enumeras, nihil obstabunt. Verum, quod omititis, non est levis momenti, difficultas inveniendi Hispanos Hebraicæ linguæ bene peritos. Et, ut existimo, hæc est causâ difficilis aditus ad sacros codices ea lingua scriptos.

PLACUISSE tibi epistolam illam, quam in gratiam excellentissimi viri BENJAMINI KEENE scripsi, vehementer gaudeo. Vir fuit ingenii dulcissimi, quique facile consequebatur quæ volebat ob studium & perspicaciam morum hominum, humanitatem facile sese insinuantem, & liberalitatem. Frequentissime ille mecum de rebus literariis agebat; nam, ut erat rerum omnium curiosissimus indagator, optimos Hispaniæ scriptores noscere satagebat, & studiose in otiosis intervallis lectitabat.

MIRARIS Henricum Florezium de Nummis antiquis Hispani-
cis Hispana lingua scripssisse. Ego mirarer multo magis, si Latina
scripssisset. Tunc enim neque exteris, neque popularibus suis
placeret. Laudanda in eo viro diligentia, qua tot numismata edi-
dit: quod perfacile fuit promittenti famam perpetuam commu-
nicantibus secum antiqua numismata. Antonius Augustinus dili-
genter hoc studium inter nostrates coluit: clarus Vincentius Jo-
hannes Lastanosa, adamavit, ostentavitque: Nobilissimus vir Pe-
trus Valerus Diazus, justitia Arragonum, adeo præclare calluit, ut
eximias laudes consecutus fuerit a peritissimo hujus literaturæ cen-
sore, Ezechiele Spanhemio prope finem dissertationis nonæ de præ-
stantia & usu numismatum antiquorum. Ex illius magni viri lo-
cupletissimo thesauro plusquam tria millia numismatum obtinuit,
& hodie custodit clarus vir Ferdinandus de Velasco in auditorio
duodecemvirorum Stlitibus judicandis in domo & urbe regia (His-
pani dicimus *Alcaldes de Casa y Corte*) patronus fiscalis: idemque
vir

*Henricus
Florezius.*

*Antonio Au-
gustinus.
Johannes La-
stanosa.
Petrus Vale-
rus Diazus.*

*300 numif-
mata.*

plusquam 100 *vir doctissimus nactus est ex ejusdem Diazii bibliotheca plusquam*
libri de re centum libros de re nummaria agentes. Nonnulli alii in suis ga-
nummaria. zophilaciis magnos habuerunt thesauros, sed absconditos. Edidi
Emmanuel ego Emmanuelis Martini, Decani Lucentini, Epistolas ad hoc ar-
Martinus. gumentum spectantes : nostratum animos excitavi ad hoc studium
Decanus Lu- excolendum. Clarus vir Andreas Gonzalezius Barcia recudi jussit
centinus. Antonii Augustini immortale opus numismatum, inscriptionum, &
Gonzalezius aliarum antiquitatum. Eo vita functo, agnatus illius, ejusdem no-
Barcia. minis, prætorii Granatensis senator, me adhortante illud edidit : &
 statim innumeri oculi aperti, & incredibilis multitudo est inquiren-
 tium antiqua numismata, atque inde orta difficultas inveniendi ea.
 Ego ibi sum, ubi rarissime reperiuntur : & ubi nemo versatur in
 hoc erudito studio. Persæpe inter amicos divisi nummos antiquos,
 quos obtinere potui. Romani, qui apud me manent, tui erint.

Johannes
Iriarte.

Bibliotheca
Scorialensis.

Alphonfus V.

SCIRE cupis, qui libri manuscripti Græci, aut Latini, vel his-
 toricorum, vel poëtarum ; qui vetusti auctores inediti in Hispania
 supersint ? Catalogum Græcorum Latinorumque scriptorum, qui
 extant in regia Madridiensi bibliotheca diligenter confecit, & edere
 cogitat clarus vir *Johannes Iriarte*, bibliothecarius regius. Biblio-
 thecæ Scorialensis varii indices evulgati. Sed quia rari sunt, faci-
 lius est ipsam bibliothecam adire, & in ea ipsos libros consulere,
 si comes adjungaris alicui viro, qui auctoritate vigeat apud biblio-
 thecarium, aut illi monasterio præfectum. An vero possint sup-
 pleri lacunæ aliquæ, Livii, Taciti, Diodori Siculi, Dionis Cassii,
 aliorumque similium, res est, quæ sciri nequit, nisi ipsi codices in-
 spiciantur. Crediderim vero multa posse suppleri, & quampluri-
 ma alia melius legi : nam thesauri Hispanici nondum sunt effossi.
 Quanti vero sint, facile colligere poteris, si consideraveris, quàm se-
 lectæ bibliothecæ Scorialensem formaverint. Magnus ille Alphon-
 sus V. Aragonum Rex, qui literas ita amavit, ut non dubitaverit
 dicere, *Malle se omnium regnorum suorum* (septem autem potiebatur)
jaëturam facere, quàm minimam doctrinæ, adeoque doctos adamavit,
 fovitque, uti Laurentiam Vallam, Antonium Panormitam, Bartho-
 lomæum Faccium, Georgium Trapezuntium, Johannem Auris-
 pam, Jovianum Pontanum : & *librum apertum* pro insigni habuit,
 significans studium suum erga libros, quibus suorum regnorum bi-
 bliothecas implevit, ornavitque ; præcipue suam instruxit raris,
 & antiquissimis libris Græcis, Latinisque, qui postea beneficio Fer-
 dinandi

dinandi ducis Calabriae ex testamento pervenerunt ad Gundizalvum Perezium, Carolo V. a manu, Homeri Odyssæ interpretem Hispanum celeberrimum. Illi autem libri teste Antonio Perezio ejus filio translati etiam fuerunt in *Bibliothecam Scorialensem*, quam locupletarunt aliæ bibliothecæ selectissimæ eruditissimorum virorum: veluti *Didaci Furtati de Mendoza*, linguæ Latinæ, Græcæ, & Arabicæ peritissimi; *Antonii Augustini*, ad miraculum eruditi; *Benedicti Ariæ Montani* in eruditis linguis versatissimi; aliorumque eximiorum virorum, quorum longa series referri posset. Diligentia itaque oculari opus est ad secreta illas opes inspiciendas. Atque hoc velim consideres. Libri manu exarati, plurisque faciendi in *Bibliotheca Scorialensi*, aut sunt Hispani, aut Arabici, aut Latini, aut Græci. Hispani nondum in usum publicum derivati sunt; Arabici nunc incipiunt orbi literario innotescere per *Michaëlem Casiri*. Conjectare igitur quantum sperari possit de Latinis, Græcisque.

Didaci Furtati.
Anton. Augustini.
Ariæ Montani.

PRÆTEREA in Hispania fuisse homines Latinæ Græcæque linguæ peritissimos, optimisque & exquisitissimis libris instructos, nemo negaverit, si meminerit Ferdinandi Nonnii Pintiani, Petri Johannis Nunnesei, aliorumque similium: quorum omnium libros ab Hispania exportatos ad exteras bibliothecas, & plures in ea non mansisse, difficulter crediderim. Remanent igitur adhuc plurimi eorum, & supersunt alii in paucis, sed numerosissimis, & antiquis bibliothecis, quæ adhuc conservantur, & a gryphibus custodiuntur.

QUANTUS vir sit clarissimus JOHANNES TAYLORUS, fama prædicat, & abunde didici ab amico ejus amplissimo *Meermano*. Quamobrem licet linguam Anglicam non intelligam, libenter a te accipiam *Elementa Juris Civilis* ab illo edita, ut meam instruant bibliothecam.

SCIRE cupis præcipua opera literaria, quæ ab Hispanis publica luce donata sunt ab anno MDCC.? Vastam provinciam mihi mandasti. Eam breviter percurram.

VALENTINI habemus duas bibliothecas, quarum auctores, videlicet Josephus Rodriguezius, monachus sodalicii Sanctissimæ Triadis, & Vincentius Ximenes, presbyter & doctor theologus, liberalissimi sunt in conterraneorum laudibus. Præcipue vero Valentini regni scriptores, qui hoc nostro sæculo floruerunt, sunt hi.

Valentini Scriptores.

THO-

Mathematicæ compendium.

THOMAS Vincentius Tosca, presbyter congregationis B. Philippi Nevii, qui in Hispanorum gratiam edidit *Compendium Mathematicum*; itemque *Philosophicum*, sed hoc Latine scriptum, cui ego adjunxi institutiones morales.

JOHANNES Baptista Corachàn, cujus est *Aritmetica Demonstrata*, sæculo elapso edita, & *Matheſis Sacra* a me evulgata.

JOSEPHUS Emmanuel Miniana, monachus sodalicii Sanctissimæ Triadis, celebratissimus ob *Continuationem Historiæ Johannis Marianæ*, & *Bellum Rusticum Valentinum*.

EMMANUEL Martinus, decanus Lucentinus, cujus elegantissimas *Epistolas* proculdubio legisti.

HIACYNTHUS Segura, monachus Dominicanus, cujus est *Norte Critico*, id est, *Polus Criticus*.

PASCHASIUS Sala, præpositus Valentinus, post cujus mortem in lucem prodiit *Sacrum Veterum Hebræorum Kalendarium*.

NOBILISSIMUS vir, Georgius Johannes, qui scripsit *Narrationem Historicam Itineris sui in Americam Meridionalem*.

AUGUSTINUS Salesius, hujus regni historicus, qui præter alia multa edidit *Dissertationem de Turici Marmore nuper effosso*.

Scriptores Cathalani.

INTER scriptores Cathalanos numerandi sunt, clarus vir Narcissus Felix, qui evulgavit *Annales Cathaloniciæ, desinentes in rebus Anni MDCCIX*.

Marianus Ribera.

EMMANUEL Marianus Ribera, monachus sodalicii B. Mariæ Virginis de Mercede, qui præter *Regium Sacellum Barcinonense*, editum anno 1698, evulgavit hoc sæculo librum de *Regum Hispaniæ Patronatu in Regale & Militare Sodalitium Dominiæ Mercedis Redemptionis Captivorum, & Centuriam primam ejusdem Sodalicii*, in quibus libris quamplurima leguntur ex Barcinonensi antiquissimo archio depromta.

Antonius Bastero.

CLARUS vir Antonius Bastero Romæ fecit publici juris *Cruscam Provinciam*, opus eximium.

Josephus Finestresius.

CELEBERRIMUS vir Josephus Finestresius edidit *Jurisprudentiam Antejustinianeam, Prælectiones Cervarienses, de Jure Dotum libros*

quinque, & *Commentarium in Hermogenianum*, eruditissima opera legalia. Idem brevi exhibebit *Syllogen Inscriptionum Romanarum, quæ in Principatu Cathalauniæ, vel extant, vel aliquando extiterunt.*

Ejus frater, Jacobus Finestresius, monachus Cisterciensis, edidit *Historiam Monasterii Populeti*, e cujus tabulario produxit multa scitu dignissima.

MATTHÆUS Aymerich societatis Jesu nuper in lucem publicam emisit *Nomina & Acta Episcoporum Barcinonensium*; in cujus operis fine legitur *Syllabus Chronologico-Historicus*, ab eruditissimo Josepho Finestresio compositus.

Ex reliquis Hispaniæ provinciis, regnisque, multi viri hoc nostro sæculo scriptis suis nobilitati sunt, ut clarus *Ludovicus Salazar*, ob innumera genealogica scripta celeberrimus.

JOHANNES Ferreras regiæ bibliothecæ Madridensi præfectus ob *Annales Historicos* valde notus, in quibus illud utile est, quod scriptores, quos sequitur, allegat. Johannes Ferreras.

FRANCISCUS de Berganza, monachus Benedictinus, qui in fine *Antiquitatum Hispaniæ*, varia chronica vetera edidit, et in *Ferreras* Franciscus de Berganza. *convictio, Isidori Pacensis Chronicon.*

JOHANNES Interian de Ayala, monachus sodalicii B. Mariæ de J. I. de Mercede, vulgavit *Humaniores atque amœniores ad Musas Excursus*, *Ayala.* itemque *Pictorem Christianum eruditum.*

CLARUS vir Andreas Gonzalez de Barcia *Antonii Leonis Pineli* Andreas Gonzalez. *Bibliothecam Orientalem & Occidentalem* mirifice auxit, multos libros ad historiam Indiarum pertinentes recudi jussit, & *Antonii Augustini Dialogos de Numismatis, Inscriptionibus, & Antiquitatibus*, a me jam commemoratos.

CLARUS vir Josephus Bermudez, de *Jure Regii Hospicii* scripsit. J. Bermudez.

CHRISTOPHORUS Rodriguez de *Palæographia Hispana.* Rodriguez.

JOHANNES Gomez Bravo *Catalogum Episcoporum Cordubensium* Gomez Bravo. edidit.

PRODIIT etiam in lucem *Benedicti Ariæ Montani Lectio Christiana*, interprete Petro de Valentia, eximius liber ad ediscendam B. A. Montanus. linguam Hispanam, si conferatur cum *Dictato Christiano* ejusdem auctoris.

N. Antonii. LUCE publica fruitur Nicolai Antonii *Censura Historiarum fabulorum.*

Marchio Mondexar. PLENA sunt bonæ frugis Marchionis Mondexarenfis *Opera Chronologica: Dissertationes Ecclesiasticæ* repetitæ editionis, ab auctore ipso emendatæ & auctæ; & *Animadversiones in Historiam Johannis Marianæ.*

Laurentius Bonivini. EQUES Mediolanensis, Laurentius Bonivini, evulgavit *Ideam Novæ Historiæ Generalis Americæ Septentrionalis*, in cujus fine leguntur præclarissima opera historica, quæ auctor possidebat.

Bernardus de Ribera. EMMANUEL Bernardus de Ribera sodalicii Sanctissimæ Triados, duo volumina edidit *Institutionum Philosophicarum*, & promisit duodecim.

Stephanus Terreros. A. M. Burriel. STEPHANUS Terreros, Societatis Jesu, evulgavit *Palæographiam Hispanam*, cujus verus auctor est *Andreas Marcus Burriel*, ejusdem societatis, qui præter *Historiam de Rebus Caliphornicis*, edidit eruditissimum librum de *Æquatione Ponderum & Mensurarum*, nomine urbis Toleti.

POSTREMO *Valentiæ* renovantur varia opuscula, quibus Latinæ linguæ cognitio fit facilior per interpretationes Hispanas, cujusmodi sunt translationes Hispanicæ aliquorum auctorum ex *classicis*, ut selectæ Ciceronis Epistolæ, interprete Petro Simone Aprili, & alia opera similia, quæ ego dedi imprimenda. Omitto alios scriptores tibi notos, quorum judicium malo esse tuum, quam meum.

HABES epistolam plenam festinationis. Diligentior ero, cum tua intererit, Vir humanissime. Vale.

OLIVÆ, *Pridie Calendas Septembres, Anno MDCCCLXI.*

[Those readers, who do not understand the Latin tongue, will have no reason to regret, that there is no translation of these epistles annexed to them; since the literary history they contain, and the list of authors, would afford them but very dry entertainment.]

LETTER

L E T T E R V.

STATE of MEASURES and WEIGHTS.

THERE is no part of the *Spanish* customs, of which it is so difficult to give any clear account, as those which relate to their *Measures and Weights*: for they retain in usage to this day, all the measures and weights, which their several conquerors or invaders have introduced at different periods.

NOTHING can give one a stronger proof of the uncommercial genius of this people, and of the little attention which they have ever given to trade, than their ministry's having permitted this matter to rest upon the present footing. There is scarce any thing which is more serviceable to the exigencies of commerce, or which facilitates its course more, than an universal conformity between the measures and weights of the same country. The ROMANS, tho' far from being the most trading nation in the world, yet perhaps for some ages the wisest, paid always the most minute attention to this point, and even established a *commercial pound*, for the greater convenience of their trade.

THE confusion, which results from this strange variety, may be easily conceived. In one province you will find *Moorish* measures and weights, in another *Roman*, in a third *Gothic*. The inquisition hath had little influence in this matter, for of these they have made an *olio*, and mixed Pagan, Mahometan, Jewish and Christian measures and pounds all together. Thus, in SEVILLE you meet with

the *Laft*, the *Caby*, and the *Ancyra*, in CADIZ, the *Fanegue*, or corn-measure of two bushels English; which are plainly *Moorish* by the barbarity of their names. In CASTILE you will find one pound; in ANDALUSIA another. In this city you will see a pound of 16 ounces, in that one of 32, in another of 40, which is the butchers pound in SEGOVIA, or the *libra carnicera*, as LIVY calls it: that is to say, these different cities make use of one pound, two pounds, and two pounds and a half. But this is not the worst view of this matter; for in measures of the *same name*, you will find a most unsystematical variation in different places: Thus, for instance, the most common measure of length in SPAIN is the *vara*, or *bar*; this wants three inches of our English yard, being exactly two feet nine, or 33 inches long, if it be after the standard of BURGOS, which was fixed by PHILIP II. in 1568: and FERDINAND VI. by an edict of February 14, 1751, ordered, that in all things relating to war and the marine they should use the *bar* of CASTILE. For till these later injunctions, SPAIN followed in this matter the regulations of ALPHONSUS *the Wise*, who fixed the standard himself, and gave it to the City of TOLEDO; that is to say, he very politically endeavoured at some uniformity in this point, by reducing all the measures and weights in his dominions to the Roman standard. Such is the state of this matter in CASTILE; but when you leave those kingdoms, and get into the other provinces, you will find the variations of this *vara* very considerable; nay, even in CASTILE itself; for the *bars* of BURGOS, TOLEDO, AVILA, and MADRID are all different. The proportion, however, between this measure of BURGOS and our English yard, is always as 100 English yards = to 109 and 3 inches of the *Spanish vara*.

OUR modern calculators have made the *Roman foot* much less than our *English foot*; that is to say, the *pes Romanus*, according to them, is, in English measure, 11 inches, and 604 decimal parts of an inch, or almost half an inch less: but I am strongly inclined to believe, that the English and Roman foot were the same thing. For whoever will peruse the following account of the Spanish *vara* and *league*, extracted from a work of the learned Father BURRIEL, of the Imperial College of Jesuits at MADRID, will

will perhaps find reason to alter his sentiments in this point, and will perceive this truth established by his accurate reasonings upon the *Roman Estadal* still preserved at TOLEDO. For there being exactly the same difference between the *bar* of TOLEDO, and that of BURGOS, as there is between the *bar* of BURGOS, and the English yard: consequently, if the *bar* of TOLEDO was taken from the *Roman* foot, the English yard must come from the same source. The *bar* of BURGOS was, as I said, 33 inches, the *bar* of TOLEDO 36, the English yard 36, consequently these two last measures are the same.

THAT the antient foot of TOLEDO was the exact Roman foot, there can be no doubt; the Spanish and Roman measures, as well as weights being, for many ages, even after the division of the empire, the same thing. The GOTHs, tho' they pulled down that vast fabric, had an amazing reverence for the wisdom of its builders; they preserved with a religious care, not the names only, but the exact uniformity and correspondence, which subsisted between the Roman weights, moneys, and measures of all kinds, as BURRIEL hath proved from the authority of those two bishops IDACIUS and ISIDORE. And the MOORS did in great measure the same thing. You may see, by one trivial instance, how much the Roman weights and measures prevailed in SPAIN in after times: the style-yard, which is much in use among them at present, is called *Uno Romano* to this day, and by no other name.

FOR liquid measures the CASTILIANS use the *Açumbre*, which, as appears by the name, is an Arabic measure, and perhaps originally taken from the *Omer* of the Hebrews. The *Açumbre* contains two quarts English, or half a gallon. And the table of their liquid measure may stand thus:

<i>Dos Açumbres</i>	——	4 quarts	——	1 gallon.
<i>Un Açumbre</i>	——	2 quarts	——	$\frac{1}{2}$ gallon.
<i>Medio Açumbre</i>	—	1 quart	——	$\frac{1}{4}$ gallon.
<i>Uno Quartillo</i>	——	1 pint	——	$\frac{1}{8}$ gallon.

IF the quantity be greater, you then reckon by the *Arroba*, which is likewise another Arabic measure, and is exactly the quarter of the hundred, or 25 pounds English weight: for four *Arrobes* make the *Quintal*, or 100 pounds weight. But here again the *Arroba* is not the same throughout all SPAIN; for the pound of CADIZ and SEVILLE, and consequently the *Arrobe*, are much larger than those of CASTILE. In SPAIN almost every thing, whether dry or liquid, is sold by the pound, by the avoirdupois pound of 16 ounces, and consequently by the *Arrobe*: Thus wine, oil, wood, coals, corn, bread, salt, &c. are sold by the pound, and as many of these are usually purchased in large quantities, they are generally sold by the *Arrobe*. I make no doubt, but the usage of the old Roman pound of 12 ounces avoirdupois, or 10 troy, prevails still in some parts of SPAIN, tho' I am not able to prove it: As the standard of the *bar* has been kept at BURGOS, so the standard of the *Arroba* has been preserved at TOLEDO; and corn hath been regulated by the *Fanegue* of AVILA.

THE gold and silver-smiths weights are,

The *Quilate*, or *Carat*, 4 grains.

A *Tomin* = to 3 carats, 12 grains.

A *Castillan* = to 8 tomins.

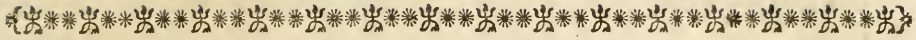
The *Ounce* = to 6 castillans and two tomins.

The *Castillan* is the gold weight of SPAIN, and is = to 14 rials and 16 peniques.

The *Mark* = to 8 ounces.

The standard of the *mark* for silver has been kept at BURGOS; but the standard of the gold *mark* at TOLEDO.

THIS may suffice for a short view of the *Castilian* measures and weights; for he who would give an accurate account of all which prevail in the several provinces of SPAIN, had need write a *folio*, and not a *letter*. Those who would wish to know with the greatest precision the exact length of the *Castilian bar* and *league* may find it in the following extract taken from Father BURRIEL's book *Upon the Authority of the Laws of the Fuero Jusgo*.



Of *Spanish* Measures and Distances.

WE will now endeavour to fix the value of *The Bar of Castile*, to determine the length of *The Spanish League*, and consequently to discuss a very important point of modern geography.

THE *bar* is that *Spanish* measure from whence are derived all those which serve as measures of distance : and as long as its value is not fixed, it will be very difficult to ascertain justly the *Castilian League*. But this is only a part of the difficulty : it is not sufficient to know what is the number of *feet* that go to make a *bar* : it is necessary to search still farther, and find out what kind of *feet* they are, that is to say, whether they are *Spanish*, or *Roman* feet. Such is the question now before us. We have already said, That ALPHONSUS *the Wise* ordered all the cities and states to make their weights and measures after the standard of those which he had himself given to the city of TOLEDO. PHILIP II. found it convenient to annul in part so wise a decree, by ordering, in a declaration made 1568, that the *bar of Burgos* should be the universal bar of his monarchy. TOLEDO sacrificed, without difficulty, her pretensions to the public good, which ought to result from such uniformity; and conformed at first to the will of the prince, in sending to BURGOS for a copy of her bar; a copy, which TOLEDO has always preserved, and preserves to this day, with the greatest care. If all the cities of CASTILE had shewed the same vigilance as TOLEDO in the preservation of their bar, it is certain, that one should not see that vast difference between them, which is so visible at present. It was natural, that this change in the bar should have an influence in the ascertainment of distances, which it has been applied to measure; and this perhaps is the source of so many opinions which clash among those who have wrote upon the *Length of the Spanish League*, which of all the measures is the most important, and that which we have most frequently a necessity of knowing its real value.

THE Spanish writers make mention of *three* sorts of leagues, *common*, *legal*, and *geographical*. PHILIP II. ordained by a decree of 1587, that the legal leagues should be common leagues, and not legal leagues: it is difficult to comprehend the sense of this decree. For if the *common* league is an arbitrary distance, it would not serve as a rule in points where the property of individuals is concerned, where it is necessary to have a constant and determined measure.

AMBROSIUS MORALES and ESQUIVEL established it as a maxim, that by a *common league* we ought to understand a distance of 4000 paces, 20,000 feet, or $6666\frac{2}{3}$ bars. And this supposing after the researches of ESQUIVEL, that the antient Spanish foot was the third of the *bar of Castile*, which was without doubt the *bar of Burgos*: But those researches are posterior to the decree of 1587; and the authority of these two writers cannot serve to the interpretation of a law of PHILIP II. By the confession of all those who have come after them, there exists no such thing in SPAIN as *common leagues* of 4000 paces; nor can they any more take for a *common league*, those which the inhabitants of a province fix by their eye, or travellers and couriers by the watch: Because this league might serve at most to fix the space of ground to a traveller, but not to the surveyor, when it is necessary to measure the ground without roads, and in the most exact manner.

THE uncertainty is no less great as to the extent of the *legal league*: MORALES, who spoke of it before the decree of 1587, makes it 5000 bars, 3000 paces, 15,000 feet. MOYA gives it the same extent in his *Theoretical and Practical Geometry*, printed in 1563, and their estimations have been adopted by CESPEDES in the treatise of *Hydrography*, which he published in 1606, by order of PHILIP III. Pere MARIAUX, and Don GARCIA GABELLORO are of a different opinion; they make the legal league 5000 paces, or 25,000 feet.

By *geometrical leagues* we understand those, seventeen of which make a degree; but the existence of *equal* leagues has no foundation in theory, nor observation; and strangers have adopted them

them without examination, upon the credit of some Spanish authors, devoid of that instruction, which is necessary in a matter so important as this.

FROM what we have said, there results a new problem, namely to know, if it is possible, how to fix the number of Spanish *leagues*, which compose a *degree*. They cannot give a positive answer to this question, without having first a fundamental point from whence to deduce it. It is certain that we can know exactly the value, or length of the Spanish league, if one knew the number necessary to a degree: and also one should know how many of these leagues the degree contains, before one can be certain of the value of each of them.

IT is this last method which Don JORGE JUAN employed, when he was reducing the number of French toises into bars of CASTILE which a meridional degree contained, contiguous to the equator, measured by Messrs. GODIN, BOUGUERE, and LA CONDAMINE, to whom was associated, by order of the Spanish court, Don ANTONIO DE ULLOA. The Spanish geometrician, supported by the authority of many laws of the *Partida*, which he cites in his work, supposes with MOYA and CESPEDES, that the Spanish league contains 3000 paces, 15,000 feet: and this supposition becomes a principle in his hands, to proceed to the reduction proposed.

MR. GODIN, before he set out for PERU, had the attention to provide himself with a copy of the toise of the *Chatelet* at PARIS, which he drew with the greatest exactness, in order to make use of it in the measures which were the object of his voyage.

WHEN JORGE JUAN returned into SPAIN, he carried with him a copy of Mr. GODIN's toise, which he took with all those physico-mathematical precautions, which the desire of accuracy prescribed to him, and the importance of the work which he meditated. After having compared this copy of the French toise, at MADRID, with the bar which the council of CASTILE sent him, he found, that the bar of MADRID contained 371 lines of

the French toise, and that the foot of the French toise was to the bar of MADRID, as 144 to 371. The observations made upon the equator gave 56,767 toises to a meridional degree, and it was easy to Don JORGE JUAN to reduce this number of toises to 132,203 bars: in dividing the relation which he had fixed between the foot of the toise, and the bar of MADRID; or in dividing 132,203 bars, which the degree contains, by 500, which is the number of bars that make a league, he found, that the degree contained 26 Spanish leagues and a half.

IT appeared, however, that it was not till after this reduction by Don JORGE JUAN, that they thought more seriously in SPAIN of the difference which there is between the bars of BURGOS, AVILA, and that of MADRID, upon which this geometrician had made his experiments. It was for this reason the late King FERDINAND VI. ordered, in 1750, several mathematicians to proceed to a geometrical comparison of these three bars. Don JORGE JUAN, who was one of these commissaries, determined with his colleagues, that six Paris feet made seven Castilian; that is to say, that the French toise was exactly $2\frac{1}{3}$ bars Spanish. His majesty ordered that for the future, they should abide by this decision in all affairs relating to war, and the marine.

YOU see then the number of bars contained in a Spanish *league*, the number of Castilian leagues which form *a degree*, and the number of feet of which the degree is composed, determined and fixed in adopting the calculation of Don JORGE JUAN. It now remains to determine the nature of these *feet*.

DON JORGE JUAN thought, that the feet, of which mention is made in the laws of the *Partidas*, were Castilian feet, and such is, as far as appears, the sentiment of CESPEDES, MORALES, MOYA, and the council of CASTILE itself.

HOWEVER respectable these authorities may seem, Pere BURRIEL thought he ought not to stop there: he pretends, on the contrary, that the feet mentioned in the laws of the *Partidas*, and 15,000 of which make a Spanish league, are ROMAN FEET.

The

The method by which he came to the demonstration of this proposition, for we look upon it as demonstrated, is equally solid and ingenious, and gives a new proof of his sagacity.

WE will now enter into the discussion of his proofs, undertaking with him things a little higher.

IT is evident, that if we could know the length of the bar which ALPHONSUS X. gave to TOLEDO, we should immediately know the kind of foot, which He used, and which is spoke of in the laws of the *Partidas*, since from one unanimous consent the foot hath always been the third of the bar. Then we should observe, that when the representatives of the states, held at TOLEDO in 1436, wanted to take away from the measures of that city the prerogative of being universal models, they alledged, among other reasons, that the bar of TOLEDO exceeded by an eighth that of BURGOS. The animosity of the deputies of BURGOS was so great, as they were the leaders of the cabal, it might make us believe, that this excess was exaggerated, and that the bar of TOLEDO did not surpass that of BURGOS but by a twelfth, and not an eighth. If the states fixed this excess at an eighth, it was, without doubt, because in the divisions of the bar, one sees parts marked as eighths, but no twelfths. By consequence, the bar of TOLEDO surpassed that of BURGOS by three inches: and the foot of the bar given to TOLEDO by ALPHONSUS X. was greater than that of BURGOS by one inch, which is the twelfth part. Besides, all the authors, who have compared the Roman foot to the Spanish foot, assure us, that the Roman foot of the capital is one twelfth more in length, than the foot of CASTILE. Therefore the antient foot of TOLEDO, or that of the bar of ALPHONSUS X. was equal to the Roman foot.

IF TOLEDO still preserved its antient bar, it would be easy to bring experience to the support of this reasoning; by confronting this bar with that of BURGOS: but since this bar exists no longer, we will make use of a measure which was taken from it. The measure I mean is the antient *Estadal* which one still sees in the archives of TOLEDO.

THE *Eftadal* paffes commonly in SPAIN for a measure of eleven feet; the antient *Eftadal* which we fee at TOLEDO is exactly ten feet ten inches: now I cannot be perfuaded, that the old *Spaniards*, whose attention was fo extreme for every thing that regarded æconomical government, fhould give to the *Eftadal*, to a measure which is fo frequently in ufe, the unequal number of eleven feet, or the fractionary one of ten inches. It is much more probable that they gave it the equal length of 8, 10, or 12 feet.

As the antient *Eftadal* of TOLEDO, which, as we have faid, was taken from the bar of ALPHONSUS X. contains 10 feet, 10 inches, then, if the *Eftadal* ought to be a measure of 10 feet, the antient exceeds the modern precisely one 12th; each foot of the ancient *Eftadal* furpaffes alfo, by one twelfth, each foot of the modern: in fine, the bar of ALPHONSUS X. was one twelfth greater than that of CASTILE. From whence we muft conclude, that the foot of that bar had the fame proportionate excefs beyond the Caftilian foot, that the Roman foot had; confequently the laws of the *Partidas* fpeak of Roman feet, when they fix the paces and the feet of which a league is compofed. Therefore in following thefe laws, the Spanifh league, which contains 3000 paces of five feet each, contains 15,000 Roman feet, or 3250 Caftilian paces, or 16,250 feet of the bar of BURGOS, measured by the copy of that bar, which TOLEDO keeps in its archives.

THESE reasons are without doubt very ftrong; but the following reflections give them ftill a new degree of force. We cannot doubt, but that the foot, which was in ufe in SPAIN during the Roman government, was the common Roman foot: by confequence, if by the antient Spanifh foot they underftand that which the Spaniards ufed during the firft ages of the Chriftian æra, it is certain it was the fame as the Roman. How could the Romans, who took as much care of SPAIN as if they would make it a fecond ITALY, how would they have permitted, that the Spaniards fhould be diftinct from the reft of the world (which it had conquered, and policed) in fo effential a point, as that of weights and meafures. The uniformity between the meafures of the Spa-

niards

niards and those of the Romans subsisted after the division of the Empire, which never saw any change in that article in its provinces. This uniformity sustained itself even against the invasion of the barbarians, as appears from the authority of the Bishop IDACIUS, who was witness and historian of these invasions. This author always reckons distances by *milliaria*, which without doubt he could never have done, if it had not been the usage of the fifteenth century, in which he wrote. The writings of St. ISIDORE make us believe, that the GOTHs never touched the measures which the Spaniards had received from the Romans: because one may presume, from the known accuracy of that saint, that he could not have passed over in silence alterations of this nature, in the works which we have of his *De Ponderibus & Mensuris*: so far from it, he marks always the distances by the same names which the Romans gave them, and which they had introduced into SPAIN, with the measures which served to determine them. These reflections are supported in the work of Father BURRIEL, concerning *The Authority of the Laws of the Fuero Jusgo*, which he cites in great numbers, but always with a view to prove, that almost to the time of ALPHONSUS X. the weights and measures of the Romans continued to be used in Spain; and that they still reckoned the distances conformably to the manner which these conquerors had introduced. Could then this learned prince, who was an able and complete legislator, could he be ignorant, of this continuation of the Roman weights and measures? And if he knew it, as we ought to believe, considering the extent of his knowledge, and the lights he had, which shine much more in those of his works which exist in the obscurity of our archives, than in those which are printed: Could such a prince have recourse to foreign measures, when he determined and settled those which were to be used in his dominions, and of which he gave the originals to the city of TOLEDO?

LETTER VI.

VIEW OF THE STAGE.

*Incolumi gravitate jocum tentavit; eò quòd
Illecebris erat, & gratâ novitate morandus
Spectator, functusque sacris.*—— HORAT. ART. POET.

I AM induced to believe, that there is a resemblance between the stage of MADRID at this time, and that of ROME, when my author was describing it: that is, at a period after its infancy, and before it had arrived at its full perfection in propriety of action, sentiment, and taste. For I cannot well compare CALDERONI's productions to those of TERENCE; nor look upon any of the present Spanish actors, as equal in merit and genius to the Roman ROSCIUS, an ÆSOP, or an English GARRICK. And tho' I venture to give this opinion, it is the opinion of one, who is only an eye, and not an ear-censor: For I pretend not to understand enough of the language to be able to judge as decisively as a French critic, of the dramatic merit of CALDERONI, or any of his poetical countrymen. But there certainly is a way of forming some judgement, tho' by other means; facts often speak as clearly as words; and actions and gestures, though silent, are by no means dumb: And I dare affirm, that General JOHNSON often understood *the little Carpenter*, a *Cherokee*, or *the bloody Bear*, though he was not a great master of the elegancies and purity of the *Indian*

dian language. But farther; when a play has any degree of unity in action, time, and place; when the several scenes, the characters lead on to, and terminate in one grand design, or event; I will venture to say, if it be tolerably well acted, that a *foreigner*, tho' he does not understand the language, will be able to tell you what the general drift and design of the play was: Let a Spaniard, or Frenchman, who is ignorant of the English tongue, be present at the representation of *Othello*, *Lear*, *Richard*, *The Journey to London*, or *The Bold Stroke for a Wife*, and I am certain he will give a just account of all he saw: he will tell you, that *one* murdered his wife for jealousy; that the *other* went mad for the ingratitude of his daughters; that conscious guilt filled the *third*, though no coward spirit, with all the horrors of remorse.

WHEN I went first to the Spanish comedy, it was the season for acting the *Autos*, that is to say, plays in support of the Catholic faith; for *Auto de Fe* is in their language *an act of faith*. I found at my first entrance a good theatre, as to size and shape, but rather dirty, and ill lighted; and what made it worse was an equal mixture of day-light and candles. The *prompter's* head appeared thro' a little trap-door above the level of the stage, and I first took him for a ghost, or devil, just ready to ascend to these upper regions: But I was soon undeceived, when he began to read the play loud enough for the actors and the boxes too, who were near him. The *pit* was an odd sight, and made a motley, comical appearance; many standing in their night-caps and cloaks; officers and soldiers interspersed among the dirtiest mob, seemed rather strange. That which answered to our *two-shilling-gallery*, was filled with women only, all in the same uniform, a dark petticoat, and a white woollen veil. The side and front-boxes were occupied by people well dressed, and some of the first fashion.

WHEN the play began, the actors appeared much better attired, that is, in richer clothes, than those in England; and these they change perpetually, in order to let you see the expensive variety of their wardrobe. After some scenes had passed, which were tedious and insipid, there came on an interlude of humour and drollery, designed, I suppose, for the entertainment of the pit. One

of these comedians appeared tempting, with a bag of money, a lady who sung to him very prettily, and did not seem altogether averse to grant him some favours: in the mean while to my great surprize a man brought in three *barbers blocks* upon the stage: after these three said barbers blocks were placed upon the stage, the same man returned and dressed them first in *mens clothes*, and undressed them again, and then dressed them once more in *womens clothes*. Now, Sir, to tell you the truth, it was for the sake of such scenes as these that I placed those lines of HORACE at the head of this account; because I am persuaded the author attempted this excellent piece of humour, for the reason there given, for the sake of his friends in the pit, and this without violating the decorum due to the national gravity of his countrymen.

HOWEVER, I should not forget to tell you, that when these block ladies were properly attired, there came in three men, who had a fancy to tempt these three ladies likewise; but they were inflexibly coy, and I think it was not long before their gallants discovered the mistake. But to quit this interlude, and return to the play again: In process of time, and after some scenes had passed, which were long, tiresome, uninteresting, and full of fustian and bombast; the grand scene approached; an actor, dressed in a long purple robe, appeared in the character of JESUS CHRIST, or the *Nuestro Senor*, as they call him; immediately he was blindfolded, buffeted, spit upon, bound, scourged, crowned with thorns, and compelled to bear his cross, when he knelt down and cried, *Padre mi! Padre mi!* "My Father! my Father! why hast thou forsaken me?" After this he placed himself against the wall, with his hands extended, as if on the cross, and there imitated the expiring agonies of his dying Lord. And what think you, my friend, was the conclusion of this awful and solemn scene? why, really, one every way suitable to the dignity and seriousness of the occasion: one of the actresses immediately unbound Christ, divested him of his crown and scarlet robes; and when he had put on his wig and coat again, he immediately joined the rest of the actors, and danced a *seque-*
dillas.

Speclatum admissi, risum teneatis, amici?

As

As to the *seguedillas*, or dance, it is little better upon the Spanish stage, than gently walking round one another; tho' when danced in its true spirit, in private houses, it much resembles the *English Hay*. After this one of the actresses, in a very long speech, explained the nature, end, and design of the *sacraments*; you must know also, that the Spaniards admit a great number of soliloquies, full of tiresome, and uninteresting declamation, into their plays. In the last scene, Christ appeared in a ship triumphant; and thus the play concluded. I forgot to tell you, that Christ, before his passion, preached to the four quarters of the world, in their proper dresses, upon the stage: *Europe* and *America* heard him gladly, and received the faith; but *Asia* and *Africa* remained incorrigible.

SOME time after I had seen this *Auto* (for, to say the truth, my curiosity was a little abated with regard to the Spanish stage, from this specimen of it) I went to see a regular comedy; there were two English gentlemen in the box with me at the same time. We understood very little of the design of the first act; we saw a king, queen, an enchantress, and many other pretty, delightful sights: but the *interlude*, with which that act concluded, is, I think, not to be equalled either by ROME or GREECE; neither FARQUHAR, CIBBER, or any of our lowest farce-writers, have ever produced any thing comparable to it. The scene was intended for the inside of a *Spanish Posada* (or inn) in the night; there were three feather-beds, and as many blankets brought upon the stage; the queen and her maids of honour personated the mistress of the *Posada* and her maids; and accordingly fell to making the beds. After this there came in six men to lie there, who paid three quarts a piece; one of them being a miser, had rolled up his money in twenty or thirty pieces of paper. Then they undressed before the ladies, by pulling off six or seven pair of breeches, and as many coats and waistcoats, and got into bed two by two: When behold, the jest was, to see them all kick the clothes off one another, and then fight, as the spectator is to suppose, in the dark. The absurdity of this scene, and the incomprehensible ridiculousness of it, made us laugh immoderately. The sight of the feather-beds, the men kicking and sprawling, the peals of applause, that echoed through the house, were truly inconceivable; tho', I believe, our

neighbours in the next box thought we laughed at the wit and humour of the author. It was a scene that beggars all possible description, and I defy any theatre in EUROPE, but that of MADRID, to produce such another. SHUTER's favourite *Beggars Bush*, with all its low ribaldry, is by no means a match for it. But to return once more to the play: When this *interlude* was finished, there succeeded some other scenes, between the king, queen, enchantress, and the rest of the actors; such as five or six of them drawing their swords upon the enchantress all at once, who parries them with her wand, and retires into her cell unhurt. They are surprised to find that their swords made no impression, and so put them up into their scabbards for a better occasion, crying, *Muy grande maravilla!* that is, "It is a very great wonder!" At other times the enchantress kills with one look, and makes alive with a second. Once she came in, fell down upon the stage, broke her nose, got up again, went out, and returned with a black patch. Then we had another *interlude*, in which some husbands pursued their wives in great anger, and with clubs something like Goliath's staff, or a weaver's beam, in order to beat their brains out; but, by the friendly interposition of some kind neighbours, they were prevented from that rude species of divorce. In revenge for this insult, the wives in the *interlude* that followed at the end of the next act, dressed themselves up like amazons, with arms and armour, and pursued their husbands, who in their turn now submitted to the conquerors. I remember nothing very remarkable that passed after this, excepting that the enchantress renounces the devil, and all his works, and in conclusion embraces the catholic faith, and declares she will adhere to that only.

THIS, I hope, will serve at present for a short sketch of the *Spanish Stage*. Indeed, I had almost forgot to tell you, that TERESA, one of the actresses, was this winter imprisoned by the King's order, for being too free of her charms to some of the grandees; it was said she would be condemned to the workhouse for life. However that be, she remains in prison still, and, as far as I can learn, is like to remain so for some time longer.

CALDERONI is at present, and has been the favourite author upon their stage for some years.

LETTER VII. PART I.

Description of the BULL-FEAST, exhibited in the *Plaza Mayor* at *Madrid*, upon occasion of His Catholic Majesty's Public Entry into his Capital, on *July 15, 1760.*

WE arrived at the balcony of the English Ambassador in the *Plaza Mayor* about half an hour after three in the afternoon, and were at once struck with the chearfullest, gayest sight imaginable. The *square*, which is large, was thronged with people; the *balconies* all ornamented with different coloured silks, and crouded from the top to the bottom of the houses; the avenues to the square were built up into balconies, and a sort of sloping scaffolding was placed round for the common people, elevated above the ground, or pit, if I may so call it, about eight or nine feet, with openings in proper places, and wooden doors.

FIRST came in the coaches of the *cavaliers*, four in number, of an antique and singular make, with glassies at the ends, and quite open at the sides: The cavaliers were placed at the doors of their coaches, from whence they bowed to the people, and the balconies, as they passed round the square; and they were accompanied by their sponsors, the Dukes of OSSUNA, of BANOS, of ARCOS,

and MEDINA CÆLI. Before the royal family came a company of *halberdiers*, after which the king's coaches in great state, I believe about seven or eight in number, preceding his *Carrosse de Respect*, which was extremely rich, with red and gold ornaments, and beautiful painted pannels: Then a coach with some of the great officers, who go always immediately before the king; next came the KING and QUEEN in a very sumptuous coach of blue, with all the ornaments of massive silver, and the crown at the top; the trappings of the horses were likewise silver, with large white plumes. These were followed by the coaches of the Prince of ASTURIAS, the two infantas, and Don LUIS, with their attendants.

THEIR Majesties were placed opposite to us, in a gilt balcony, with a canopy and curtains of scarlet and gold; the queen on that occasion taking the right hand. On the right hand of the king's balcony were placed the rest of the royal family: and on the left were ranged the gentlemen of the bed-chamber in a row; all dressed in a very fine uniform of blue and red, richly embroidered with gold. The *halberdiers* marched from the king's balcony, which was in the center on one side, and forming themselves into two lines, fronting different ways, instantly cleared the square of the croud, who retired into the scaffolding, erected for them round it. Next the halberdiers formed themselves in a line before the scaffold, under the king's balcony. Then appeared *two companies of boys*, dressed in an uniform with caps, and red taffeta jackets, ranged against the right and left hand side of the square, who carrying buckets of water in their hands, watered the stage as they crossed over to the side opposite to them. This being performed, the six chief *Alguazils* of the town, mounted upon fine horses, covered with trappings, and dressed in the old Spanish habits, black with slashed sleeves, great white flowing wigs, and hats with plumes of different-coloured feathers, advanced towards the king's balcony, under which they were obliged to stay the whole time, to receive his orders; except when they were frightened away by the bulls, when they were obliged to ride for it, being absolutely unarmed and defenceless.

HAVING

HAVING obtained the king's permission for the *bull-feast*, the troops belonging to the *knights* entered upon the stage in four large companies, dressed in liveries of *Moorish habits* of silk, richly and elegantly ornamented with lace and embroidery : These marched first to make their bow to the king's balcony, and then in procession round the square : and from the elegance, singularity, and variety of their uniforms, made one of the most delightful scenes that can be conceived. After them came the *four knights*, habited in the old Spanish dress, with plumes in their hats, and mounted upon the most beautiful horses : each carried in his hand a slender lance, and was attended by two men on foot, dressed in light silk, of the colour of his livery, with a sort of cloaks or mantles of the same ; these never forsake his side, and are indeed his principal defence. After the *cavaliers* had done their homage to the King, their companies retired, and there remained with them only, besides those who walked by their side, a few dressed with mantles in the same manner, who dispersed themselves over the stage. The cavaliers then disposed themselves for the encounter ; the first placing himself opposite to the door of the place where the bulls are kept, the other at some distance behind him, and so on.

THE KING then making the *signal* for the doors to be opened, the bull appeared, to the sound of martial music, and the loud acclamations of the people : and seeing one of the attendants of the first cavalier spreading his cloak before him, aimed directly at him ; but the man easily evaded him, and gave his master an opportunity of breaking his spear in the bull's neck. In the same manner the bull was tempted to engage the other cavaliers, and always with the same success : till having received the honourable wounds from their lances, he was encountered by the other men on foot : who, after playing with him, with an incredible agility, as long as they think proper, easily put an end to him, by thrusting a sword either into his neck or side, which brings him to the ground ; and then they finish him at once, *by striking a dagger, or the point of a sword, behind his horns into the spine, which is always immediate death**. After this the bull is instantly hurried off by mules, finely adorned, and decked with trappings for the occasion.

* This was the way the *Numidians* used to kill the elephants, when they became unruly : see LXXV, lib. xxvii. cap. 49. The words are, *Pictoris eorum scalprum cum malleo hauriant* ;

My apprehensions were at first principally for the men *on foot*; but I soon perceived they were in no sort of danger: their cloaks are a certain security to them, as the bull always aims at it, and they can therefore easily evade the blow. Besides this, there are so many to assist each other, that they can always lead the bull which way they please, and even in the worst case they can preserve themselves by leaping into the scaffold, as they frequently did.

THE *knights* are in much more danger; their horses being too full of fire to be exactly directed; they cannot therefore so well evade the aim, and are liable every moment to be overthrown with their horses, if the attendants by their side did not assist them. Two beautiful horses nevertheless we saw gored; one of which was overthrown with his rider, but fortunately the man escaped any mischief from his fall. The courage of these horses is so great, that they have been often known to advance towards the bull, when their bowels were trailing upon the ground.

AFTER the knights had sufficiently tired themselves with these exploits, the king gave them leave to retire and repose. We had then bulls let out (one at a time always) from another door, of a more furious nature; these were encountered entirely by the men on foot, who were so far from fearing their rage, that the whole business was to irritate them more, by throwing upon their necks, and other parts, little barbed darts, ornamented with bunches of paper, like the *Bacchanalian Thyasus*, some of which were filled with gunpowder, and burst in the manner of a squib or serpent, as soon as they were fastened to the bull. Nothing can be imagined more tormenting than these darts, which stick about him, and never lose their hold. But the courage and amazing dexterity, with which they are thrown, takes off your attention from the cruelty of it. Another method they have of diverting themselves with the fury of the bull, is by dressing up *goat-skins*, blown up with wind, into figures, and placing them before him, which makes a very ridiculous part of the entertainment. Many

id, ubi scire belluæ, & ruere in suos capite ant, magister inter aures positum, ipso in articulo, quo jungitur capiti cervix (in the spine) quanto maximo paterat ictu adigebat. Ea celerrima via mortis in tantæ molis belluâ inventa erat, ubi regendi spem vicissent. Primusque id Astrucal instituerat.

of the bulls, however, would not attack them, and one of the most furious that did, shewed more fear than in encountering his most sturdy antagonists: so great is their apprehension from an object that stands firm, and seems not to be dismayed at their approach. There is likewise another kind of a larger spear, which is held by a man obliquely, with the end in the ground, and the point towards the door, where the bull comes out, who never fails to run at it, with great danger to the man, as he is always thrown down; but greater to the bull, who commonly receives the point in his head or neck, and with such force, that we saw a spear broke short, that was much thicker than my arm. They also baited one bull with dogs, which shewed as much courage and obstinate perseverance as any of that breed in ENGLAND. As to the *laws* of this spectacle, and other circumstances relative to the *punctilios* of the bull-feast, I cannot pretend to explain them, and imagine others, who have attempted it, have been obliged to take it mostly upon trust, nor do I think it very material.

THIS spectacle is certainly one of the finest in the world, whether it is considered merely as a *coup d'œil*, or as an exertion of the bravery and infinite agility of the performers. The Spaniards are so devoted to it, that even the women would pawn their last rag to see it; and we were assured, that some of the balconies did not cost less than a hundred pistoles for that afternoon. Nothing can be imagined more crowded than the houses, even to the tops of their tiles; and dearly enough they paid for their pleasure, pent together in the hottest sun, and with the most suffocating heat that can be endured. Nor do I greatly wonder at them, when I consider how much my own country, that is certainly as humane as any nation, is bigotted to its customs of bull-baiting, cock-fighting, &c.—I do not deny, that this is a remnant of *Moorish*, or perhaps *Roman* barbarity; and that it will not bear the speculations of the closet, or the compassionate feelings of a tender heart. But, after all, we must not speculate too nicely, lest we should lose the hardness of manhood in the softer sentiments of philosophy. There is a certain degree of ferocity requisite in our natures; and which, as on the one hand it should be restrained within proper bounds, that it may not degenerate into

cruelty; so, on the other, we must not refine too much upon it, for fear of sinking into effeminacy. This custom is far from having cruelty for its object; bravery and intrepidity, joined with ability and skill, are what obtain the loudest acclamations from the people: it has all the good effects of *chivalry*, in exciting the minds of the spectators to great actions, without the horror that prevailed in former times, of distinguishing bravery to the prejudice of our own species. It teaches to despise danger; and that the surest way to overcome it, is to look it calmly and stedfastly in the face; to afford a faithful and generous assistance to those engaged with us in enterprizes of difficulty: And in short, tho' it may not be strictly consonant to the laws of humanity and good nature, it may yet be productive of great and glorious effects; and is certainly the mark of qualities, that do honour to any nation.

THIS ceremony of the *bull-feast* in the *Plaza Mayor* is never exhibited, but upon the greatest occasions, such as the accession or marriage of their kings, and is attended with a very great expence both to the king, as well as the city. There is a theatre built just without the walls, on purpose, where there are bull-feasts every fortnight; and these to connoisseurs in the art are infinitely preferable to the others; the bulls being more furious, and the danger greater to the cavaliers. But that which I have described, would, I think, very sufficiently satisfy my curiosity.

I HAVE since seen a bull-feast in that amphitheatre, and found little material difference in the manner of fighting, except that the cavaliers, who rode better, and seemed more adroit, were not so closely attended by the men on foot: and that they sometimes used a long lance of strait, tough wood, with a short point, and a knob of twisted cord, which hinders it from entering deep into the wound. This they held tight to their side, passing under their arm-pit, and directed it with their hand. In this manner they wait the bull's approach, and generally have strength enough to keep him off from themselves and their horses, when he runs upon it: tho' it is dangerous, the bull sometimes bearing down both man and horse. This was one of the ordinary spectacles, and therefore attended with little of the pomp which I had seen in the

Plaza

Plaza Mayor. The building is erected on the ancient plan, round, with rows of seats raised above the area, for the common people; and two rows of boxes, or large balconies, above them. It is not only admirably contrived for the purpose which it is built for, but has a very striking appearance, from its size and regularity. One could not, however, help observing ladies of the first quality in the balconies, feasting, with these bloody scenes, those eyes, which were intended only to be exercised in softer cruelties. And among the common people we even saw numbers of women with children at their breasts.

I SHALL now take the liberty, as many are divided in their opinions, whether the *Spanish bull-feast* be of *Roman* or *Moorish* origin, to give my sentiments upon that subject. I remember somewhere, that CICERO, when he was obliged for the sake of the argument, to declare whether he thought those bloody and savage *exhibitions*, so much coveted by his countrymen, were really *cruel and inhuman, or not*: in order to avoid fixing, by his opinion, any reproach upon them, dextrously eludes the question, and with the address of a casuist gives this remarkable answer, *Cru- dele gladiatorum spectaculum—haud scio, an ita sit.* A strange sentiment for a civilized writer! A diversion, at the expence of humanity, must be *cruel*; the practice was fit only for barbarians. But to the point: to say, that the *Spanish Fiesta de los Toros* is plainly an imitation of the *Romans*, because they exhibited wild beasts in their amphitheatres, is speaking very generally, and not with any precision: One might as well assert, that they copied it from the *Asiatics*, for St. PAUL says, ἔθνη ὁμάχιστα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. And perhaps the Spaniards might as well own, as he did, that *it profits them nothing*. But if I can find this very *Fiesta de los Toros*, the *Spanish bull-feast*, among the *Roman* customs, I suppose nobody will doubt from whence the Spaniards took it.

LIVY tells us, *per eos dies, quibus hæc ex Hispaniâ nunciata sunt, ludi TAURILIA per biduum facti, religionis causâ.*

FESTUS has very luckily preserved the first institution of this feast. The *Taurilia*, according to him, were instituted to the in-

Q

fer-

fernal gods, for this reason; in the reign of TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS, when a most violent plague had seized all the women big with child, they procured abortions by eating some bulls flesh, that was sold at the shambles: upon this account these *ludi* were instituted, and were called *taurilia*, and they are celebrated in the *Flaminian Circus*, that the infernal gods might not be called *within their walls*.

PURSUANT to their superstitious ritual, so savage an institution was rightly dedicated to the infernal gods: from this account of it, it is proper that the *Spanish* women should bring their children at the breast, and those in the womb, as we see they do, to this spectacle. But they commit a great impropriety in celebrating it in the *Plaza Mayor*. It should be without the walls. LIVY says, that the *ludi*, which FULVIUS gave just after, were much more splendid, that is, I suppose, much more bloody and barbarous, for he exhibited lions and panthers.

BUT the resemblance between the *Roman*, and the *Spanish Taurilia* appears still stronger from other circumstances now remaining; it is a custom for the *Spanish* nobility themselves to engage the bulls, and none are permitted to fight as cavaliers, unless they can prove their descent to be noble. The true *Spaniards* are all fond of the diversion; it is accounted honourable and heroic: it recommends them to the fair, to their prince, and to their country; and it is a standing theme of honour among the people.

IT was just the same at ROME; the nobility, the patricians, voluntarily undertook a part in these encounters:

*Lustravitque fugâ mediam gladiator arenam,
Et Capitolinis generosior & Marcellis——*

And even the ladies were ambitious of appearing in the same lists. MÆVIA was a lady of quality, and yet we find she could step out of her sex, and enter the *arena*.

——*Tuscum*
Figat aprum, & nudâ teneat venabula mammâ.

I do not find, that the *Spanish* ladies had ever any of this martial, or rather masculine spirit. It is amazing how desirous the *Romans* were of being killed, even in jest; senators, patricians, and knights, were at last not ashamed to appear on these occasions.—I think I have done some honour to the *Spanish* nobility in thus placing them on a footing with *Roman* senators; but still be it remembered, that these were not senators of ROME, when ROME *survived*, as CATO calls it, but when she was enslaved, and dishonoured by the worst of emperors, I might indeed say, by the worst of men.

I AM surprized to find these *taurilia* omitted by Mr. KENNETT.

LETTER VII. PART II.

BURIAL — GRANDEES — KING'S PUBLIC ENTRY.

THE funeral rites of the rich in SPAIN are splendid, as well as decent; they are solemnly interred with their best suit of clothes, with hat, cloak, and sword.

*Nam vivis quis amor gladii, quæ cura togæve
Manfit, & hæc eadem remanet tellure repositis.*

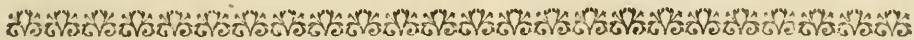
And I am firmly persuaded, that the old knights, condes, and grandees of this kingdom were antiently buried, just as we see their *sculptured figures* upon their tombs; armed *cap-à-pee*, and at all points; just as if they had been harnessed out for battle, with their beaver, coat, cuirass, the target, lance, sword, spurs, and jack-boots. And this shews the great propriety of that famous joke of old SCARRON, who, when he was receiving extreme unction, told the anointer, “ Pray, sir, take care to grease my boots well, for I “ am going a very long journey.”

THEY commonly put a great deal of lime into the grave, in order to hasten the corruption of the body; at NAPLES I am told they have a great hole, half filled with lime, into which they throw all their dead, naked.

THE late Queen of SPAIN, consort of the present King CHARLES III. died September 27th, 1760, aged 35, after she had

THE QUEEN'S DEATH, AND FUNERAL. 117

had reigned only one year and fourteen days. She was a daughter of the present King of POLAND, and had suffered greatly for the distresses of her father, who has been driven from his electorate by the King of PRUSSIA: She had lived twenty years with his present Majesty. She was in a bad state of health when he came first into SPAIN, caught the measles at SARAGOÇA, then a cold: and afterwards was taken ill with a fever and flux at St. ILDEFONSO, in September, and upon its increase returned to MADRID; when both those disorders still kept harrassing and weakening her, till they at last ended in a delirium and mortification. Every art of physic was used to save her, and every *Spanish* faint invoked, but all in vain. They brought the *image* of ST. ISIDRO to her, and some were fetched even from TOLEDO and ALCALA DE HENARES: But neither the interposition of saints or subjects could avail any thing; tho' all the churches of MADRID were crowded with people, offering up prayers for her recovery, fate was inexorable, and death relentless. The *nuncio* came and gave her the last papal benediction, and by that means conveyed to her the first notice of her approaching dissolution; she received the shock with some surprize, but with much piety, resignation, and resolution. Upon her observing to the nuncio the insignificance and emptiness of all human grandeur; and that it was now of no advantage to her, that she ever was a Queen—He replied, “Your Majesty has certainly had much greater opportunities of doing good, and which have not been neglected.” She lingered a day or two after this, till the delirium came on, attended with convulsions, and at length expired on the twenty-seventh of September, about three o'clock in the afternoon.

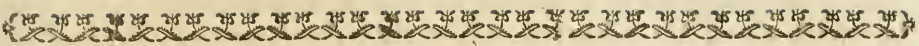


CEREMONIES of a ROYAL FUNERAL.

ON the twenty-eighth, she was laid in state in the *caisson*, or great-hall of the BUEN RETIRO; she lay upon a spond covered with gold tissue, under a canopy of state: She was dressed in a plain cap, tied with a broad white satin ribband, and with a
small

small black egret over her forehead : On each side the spond were fix large *girandoles*, of *Mexican* silver, about four feet high, with large tapers burning, and round the room were several altars with gold and silver candlesticks. On the right hand side of the spond, at the feet, knelt the dutchess of MEDINA SIDONIA, behind her another lady of distinction, and then an exempt, and on each side stood two *pursuivants* bearing the crown and sceptre. The ladies were relieved every hour by others, such as the dutchess of BURNOMBILE, the dutchess of ARCOS, &c. but the pursuivants were obliged to remain the whole twenty-four hours—Thus lay the Queen all that day and night ; on the twenty-ninth, she was carried to the ESCURIAL in this manner: About seven o'clock in the evening the proceßion began from the gate of the BUEN RETIRO in this order : First came forty *Carmelite*-monks on horse-back, each with a torch in one hand, and the bridle in the other ; then as many *Cordeliers*, and last of all the *Dominicans*, all with torches in their hands: Then a body of the guards on horseback, without tapers, headed by the duke of VERAGUEZ, or duke of BERWICK. These were followed by the sacrist in his cope, bearing a gold crucifix, at the head of the curates. Then the state-coach with the Queen's body, followed by two *carosses de respect* ; then the duke of ALVA ; behind him the inquisitor-general, with some other people of distinction, such as the duke of ARCOS, &c. then followed another body of the guards, and last of all a suite of coaches. These were obliged to travel in this manner all the night, with their torches burning, which must be a vast expence ; it being eight leagues to the ESCURIAL, and they proposed burying her Majesty about eight o'clock the next morning. The monks are paid for this journey, and they commonly share the tissue pall between them. And thus ended the solemnities of this funeral, which I shall conclude with the moral of our English Poet :

A heap of dust alone remains of Thee ;
 'Tis all thou art, and all the Great shall be.

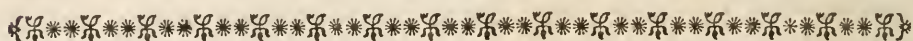


G R A N D E E S.

IT is very difficult to make out a clear and exact list of the grantees of SPAIN, the Spaniards themselves have published no good one: and there are very few, who can give you any just information. In the first place, there is no superiority and gradation of title here, as there is in ENGLAND. A duke is no more than a marquis, a marquis no greater than an earl; in short, all titles are equal. And you will often see the father an earl, and the son a duke; just the reverse as with us. The great distinction antiently consisted in being grandee of the first, second, or third order: but these distinctions are now dropped; the king making them all grantees of the first class. These three classes were, 1. Those who came into his majesty's presence with their heads covered before they spoke to the king: 2. Those who did not cover till they had spoke to his majesty, and the king had answered them: 3. Those who did not cover, or put on the hat, 'till after they had withdrawn to their place. If the king bids them be covered, without any addition to the word *cubridos*, they are only grantees for life; if his majesty adds the title of any of their lands, the honour is hereditary. Indeed, with us in ENGLAND, it used formerly to be a custom for the peers to sit *covered* when the king went to the house of lords, till that polite parliament at queen ANNE's accession dropped it, out of compliment to her majesty, because they thought it ungentle to sit covered before a queen. All the titles in SPAIN are feudal to this day. The crown gives them in the first instance free for the life of that person, or, as they call it, *Libres des Lances*; but ever after, as feoffs of the crown, they pay a yearly sum of money in lieu of their knights, or feudal service. Besides these grantees, there are a great number of good, antient families in this country, who from their antiquity have an undoubted right to rank as grantees; but as the crown has not thought proper to *cover* them, as such, they have no rank: These are called *Casas aggraviadas*, or *injured houses*. The mark of distinction,

inction, which these grandees constantly keep up, and give to each other with the greatest exactness, is the always addressing one another with the *TU*: whereas, when they speak to any other of inferior rank, they use the *Eccellencia*, *Vuestra Merced*, the *Vofia*, *Vofenoria*, &c.

THE following is the most correct list of the Spanish grandees, which I could meet with.



LIST of the SPANISH GRANDEES, *alphabetically, by their Titles, with their Family-Names, &c. &c.*

A.

ABRANTES	Duke	Don M. Carvajal.
AGUILAR	Earl	Vic. Offorio Moscoso y Gusman.
ALTAMIRA	Earl	Ben. Moscoso.
ALVA	Duke	Fern. Sylva y Toledo (his eldest son is Duke of HUESCAR.)
ALCANIZAS	Marquis	Manuel Oforio.
ALBUQUERQUE	Duke	Pedro de la Cueva (eldest son LEDESMA.)
AMARANTE	Earl	Fr. Gayoso.
ARCO	Duke	Alp. Zayas.
ARGETE	Duke	L. Lafo de la Vega.
ARION	Duke	Ign. Pimentel.
ARISSA	Marquis	Joackim de Palafox.
ARCOS	Duke	Ponce de Leon.
ARANDA	Earl	Po. Abarca.
ASTORGA	Marquis	Infantado.
ATARES	Earl	St. Jago Funes

B.

BANOS	Duke	Don A. Ponce de Leon.
BANOS	Earl	J. de Muscoso.

BA-

BALBACES	Marquis	Don J. de Espinola (his eldest son is Duke of SEXTO.)
BEJAR	Duke	J. de Zuniga.
BENEVENTE	Earl	Fr. de Pimentel; or, Duke de MEDINA DEL RIO SECO.
BERAGUAS	Duke	Sn. Jago Estuardo (pretended Duke of BERWICK.)
BOURNOMBILE	Duke	Fr. de Bournombile.
C.		
CASTRO-PINIANO	Duke	Don Eboli.
CASCAHUELAS, commonly called the COUNT DE FUENTES.	Earl	Joackim Pignatelli (they married into the house of GUSMAN, and then took that title FUENTES Y GUSMAN. The eldest son MORA.)
CASTEL DE LOS RIOS	Marquis	
CASTELLAR	Marquis	Lucas Patinho.
CIFUENTES	Earl	Juan de Sylva.
CAMINA	Marquis	Pedro de Cordova, or Cogolludo.
CORDUBA		
CORUNNA	Earl	Manuel de Castejon.
E.		
ESTEPA	Marquis	Don Juan Centurion.
F.		
FRIAS	Duke	Don B. de Velasco, constable of Castile.
FUENCLARA	Earl	Ant. de Sylva.
FERNAN-NUNEZ	Earl	Jos. de los Rios.
J.		
JACCHI	Prince	Don Regio.
INFANTADO	Duke	This title at present in abeyance, but will come to the Duke of LERMA.

L.

LERMA	Duke	
LOSADA	Duke	Don Jos. de Miranda.

M.

MACEDA	Earl	Don Fr. Lanzos.
MALPICA	Marquis	Jos. Pimentel.
MANZERA	Marquis	Joack. Pimentel.
MASSERANO	Prince	Fil Fresco, Prince of CAMPO FLORIDA.
MEDINA COELI	Duke	Luis de Cordova (eldest son Cogolludo or Ca- mina; the old family- name was LA CERDA.
MEDINA SIDONIA	Duke	Pedro de Gusman <i>El Bue- no</i> . They had the name of EL BUENO, from that Gusman, who defended Tariffa so bravely in the year 1292.
MINA	Marquis	Gusman.
MIRANDA	Earl	Antonio de Zuniga.
MONTIJO	Earl	Ch. Portocarero.
MONTELLANO	Duke	Jos. de Solis.
MONDECAR	Marquis	N. de Mendosa.
MONTE LEON	Duke	— Pignatelli.

O.

ONATE	Earl	Don Jos. de Gusman.
OSSUNA	Duke	Pedro Giron.

P.

PAREDES	Earl	Don Diego de Gusman.
PARSEN	Earl	Joack. de la Cerda.
PERALADA	Earl	Fer. de Bujados.
PIO	Prince	Regio.
POPULI	Dutchess	
PRIEGO	Earl	Juan de Croix.
PUNO EN ROSTRO	Earl	Fr. Xavier Arias.

R.

RICLA	Earl	Don Amb. de Funes.
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S.

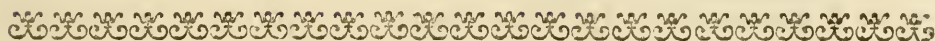
SAN ESTEVAN	Duke	Don A. de Benavides.
SAN JUAN	Marquis	Juan Pizarro.
SALVA TIERRA	Earl	Juan de Cordova.
SANTA CRUZ	Marquis	Jof. de Sylva.
SARRIA	Marquis	Nic. de Carvajal.
SERBELLONI	Earl	
SIRUELA	Earl	Fr. Balbi.
SOTO-MAYOR	Duke	F. S. M. Maffones y Lima.

T.

TENEBRON	Earl	Don Ger. de Montezuma. This gentleman is a lineal descendant from the famous Prince MONTEZUMA, and enjoys a pension from the court of Spain on that account.
TORRECUSO	Marquis	Carracciolo.

V and U.

VEDMAR	Marquis	Don Ph. Pacheco.
VILLA FRANCA	Marquis	Ant. de Toledo.
VILLA GARCIA	Marquis	Bart. de Mendoza.
UZEDA	Duke	Ant. Pacheco.
VILLADARIAS	Marquis	
VILLENA		(In Abeyance) Zuniga.



Some OFFICERS about the COURT of SPAIN.

King's Household.

Duke of MEDINA COELI, Master of the Horse.

Duke of ALVA, Steward of the Household.*

R. 2 .

Duke

* The Duke of ALVA, in December 1760, desired leave of his Majesty to resign his employments, and retire from court: He prayed the King to continue his *honours*; to which the King replied, that he would not only continue his honours, but his *appointments* too. The resignation of the chief great man in SPAIN made, as you will imagine,

Duke de LOZADA, Squire of the Body.
Don PEDRO STUART, first Equerry.

Infant's Household.

Duke de MONTELLANO, Mayor Domo to Don LUIS.

Queen's Household.

Marquis de MONTE ALLEGRE, First Steward.
Marquis TRIPUZI, Second Steward.
Duke of MEDINA SIDONIA, Master of the Horse.
Marquis de ANDIA, Gentleman of the Horse.

Queen Dowager's Household.

Don PEDRO DE VILLA REAL, Mayor Domo to the Q. Mother.
Conde de BANOS, Master of the Horse to the Queen Mother.
Duke de BEJAR, Governor of the Prince and Infant.
Don LUIS DE CORDUBA, Card. and Archbishop of TOLEDO.
Grand Patriarch, Don BERT. DE CORDUBA, Son to the Duke of
MEDINA COELI.

LADIES of the BED-CHAMBER to the late
QUEEN AMALIA.

Marchioness of AYTONA.
Princess JACCHI.
Marchioness of ARESA.
Countess of ABLITAS.
Duchess of ST. ESTEVAN.
Marchioness of MINA.
Princess MASSERAN.
Duchess of BOURNOMBILE.
Duchess of CASTRO PINIANO.

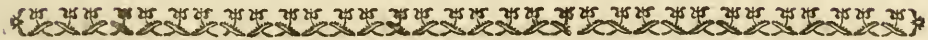
imagine, much noise at MADRID. The Duke of ALVA has undoubtedly great parts and abilities; there are few, if any, of a capacity equal to his. The Marquis of MONT-ALLEGRE succeeded him. The Duke, to say the truth, having been the first man, manager, and director during all the late reign, did not like to find himself less considered in this, and therefore chose to retire. It was not apprehended, that his retiring would at all affect Mr. WALL. The Duke is hereditary chancellor of the Indies, dean of the council of state, and director of the academy, &c.

Countess

Countefs of BENEVENTE.
 Countefs of FUEN CLARA.
 Princefs Pio.
 Marchionefs of VALDERAVANO.
 Countefs of FUENTES.
 Countefs of CASTRO PINIANO.
 Dutcheffs of MEDINA SIDONIA.
 Dutcheffs of ARCOS.
 Dutcheffs of UZEDA.
 Dutcheffs of VERAGUA.

L A D I E S *of the* B E D - C H A M B E R *to the*
 Q U E E N M O T H E R .

Dutcheffs-Dowager of MEDINA SIDONIA.
 Countefs of SIRUELA.
 Marchionefs of CASTEL RIOS.
 Countefs of SERBELLONI.
 Countefs of BANOS.
 Marchionefs of BANEZA:
 Countefs PRIEGO.
 Dutcheffs of POPULI.
 Marchionefs of TORRECUSO.



Description of the King of *Spain's* Public Entry into
Madrid, July 13, 1760.

(Translated from the Spanish Gazette.)

SUNDAY the 13th being the day fixed by his Catholic Majesty for his public entry, the requisite preparations having been all finished, such as triumphal arches erected in different parts of the city†, the fountains adorned, the fronts of the houses

† These triumphal arches, though they were very expensive, yet few of them were in a good taste; the figures ill-grouped, and crowded; the allegory not very intelligible, and most of them rather heavy.

covered

covered with paintings, hangings, looking-glasses, and furniture, in all the streets, through which his majesty intended to pass; the silver-smiths, in particular, having ornamented their houses in the nature of a long square, with four towers at each corner, all set off with plate and some jewels §. Things being thus prepared, at four in the afternoon the two companies of Spanish and Walloon guards were placed with their officers and colours, and the regimental musick, along the *Carrier*.

AT six o'clock, his Majesty, with the Queen and royal family, came out of the back gate of the *Retiro*, in this order of procession:

1. The companies of halberdiers, with musick.
2. Three squadrons of horse life-guards, Spanish, Italian, and Flemish, with trumpets and kettle-drums.
3. Four gilded coaches of the king's stables, with trumpets and kettle-drums, in which were the Mayor Domos DE SEMANA, who went before to St. MARY'S Church.
4. Coach of the queen's officers, with the Marquis de MONTE ALLEGRE, her first steward, the Duke of MEDINA SIDONIA, her master of the horse, and the Marquis de ANDIA, gentleman of the horse.
5. The Mayor Domos de SEMANA, in another coach.
6. Nine of the ladies of the bed-chamber in other coaches.
7. Nine coaches with four horses, in which were the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber.
8. A coach with eight horses, richly harnessed, with four footmen and eight grooms walking on each side.
9. A coach with eight horses, equally rich, attended in the same manner, in which were the king's master of the horse, the Duke of MEDINA COELI; the Duke of ALVA, steward of the household; the Duke de LOSADA, *sumilier de corps*, or

§ The ornaments of the houses likewise were many of them immensely expensive; but in the worst, most absurd, and ridiculous taste you can imagine: that of the Marquis DONIATI was, I think, the most expensively ill-designed of any, with mottoes and devices in plenty.

squire of the body; the Principe de MASSERANO, captain of the Italian company of life-guards; and Don PEDRO STUART, first equerry.

10. Twenty four of the King and Queen's footmen, and the *Ecuyers de Campo*.
11. The King's coach, of massy silver, drawn by eight fine Neapolitan horses richly harnessed, in which were the KING and QUEEN, guarded by all the officers of the life-guard, that were not otherwise stationed, and twelve of the king's pages in their liveries embroidered with gold, walking on each side.
12. A large body of life-guards, with their officer.
13. The Prince of ASTURIAS, and the Infant Don GABRIEL in their coach, attended with guards.
14. The Infants Don ANTONIO PASQUAL, and Don FRANCISCO XAVIER in theirs, with their guards.
15. The Princess Donna MARIA JOSEPHA, and Donna MARIA LUISA, in another coach, with their guards.
16. The Infant Don LUIS ANTONIO JAYME, in his coach, with his guards*.
17. Ladies of honour in gilt coaches.
18. The *Mayor Domos de Semana* to his Majesty, in their coach.
19. Two battalions of foot, Spanish and Walloon guards.

IN this order of procession their Majesties came up to the first triumphal arch, erected at the entrance of that fine street *De Alcala*, opposite to which the QUEEN MOTHER was seated in a principal balcony, belonging to the house of the Marquis de TRIPUZI her first steward; the King and Queen made their respects to her, as they passed, which she returned. Their majesties then went to St. MARY's Church.

THE concourse of people, both natives and foreigners, was immense in all the streets; and the balconies were lined with people of fashion, in great variety of dresses, colours, and jewels.

* The *Viva Don Luis!* was by much the loudest and most hearty of the people's acclamations.

THEIR

THEIR Majesties being come to St. MARY'S Church, his Eminence the Cardinal-Archbishop of TOLEDO waited at the portico in company with the stewards and gentlemen of the month, and household, to present the royal family, and the rest with *holy-water*: after which they heard the *Te Deum* and *Salve* sung, with the band and music of the royal chapel: Then taking a different route, they found the houses, arches, and fountains all illuminated, it being now after sun-set.

AFTER their return to the *Buen Retiro*, they saw the fire-works prepared by the town, from their own balcony, which were exhibited in the small *Plaza de Pelota* ||.

ON the 14th, in the afternoon, there was a comedy represented before their Majesties, named *the Triumph of Hercules*, after which the fire-works were the same as the night before.

ON the 15th, their Majesties went to see the *bull-feast*, and were much pleased with the spectacle, as no fatal misfortune happened to the cavaliers*. During these three days, the houses of the gentry and others were illuminated.

ON the Saturday the King attended at the *Jura*, and took the accustomed oath. In the evening the trades-people of the town having passed before their majesties in masquerade dresses, one of them made a speech, and so retired. This evening concluded also with fire-works and illuminations: and thus ended the solemnities celebrated on occasion of the Public Entry of Don CARLOS III. King of SPAIN.

IN my opinion, much the most pleasing part of the sight was the immense mob in the streets; which being composed of all reli-

|| These fire-works were very poorly contrived, and went off extremely ill.

* It was no wonder that the cavaliers on this occasion came off so well; for the poor bulls had been kept almost fasting for four days before, in order to lower their courage: and this was done, lest the *Queen* and the *Court* should be shocked at the sight of any tragical event, that might otherwise have happened. But see the account of this article, p. 107, & seqq.

gious orders, of all kinds of lay, civil, and ecclesiastical habits; in short, of all dresses in the world, and of both sexes, formed the most motley scene that fancy ever painted!

THE theatre of the *Buen Retiro* is extremely pretty, and very finely ornamented: It will always remain as a striking proof of the genius, fancy, and invention of the celebrated FARINELLI; who had no reason to regret the leaving ENGLAND, since SPAIN has made him ample amends: his apartments were the best in the whole palace of the *Retiro*, the same that the Duke de LOSADA has now; and his levee was more crowded than the minister's, or King's. He retired with an immense fortune on the death of Queen BARBARA.

THE *Venetian Ambassador* made his public entry into MADRID, on the 23d of July, in his Venetian black habit, on horseback. There were some who preferred his entry to that of the King's; but his state-coaches were miserably tarnished and shabby.

L E T T E R VIII.

Description of the CONVENT of St. LAURENCE,
commonly called the *ESCURIAL*.

THE *ESCURIAL* is a village in the kingdom of NEW-CAS-
TILE, seven leagues to the north of MADRID, so called
from the word *escoria*, which signifies the dross of the iron mines,
which were there formerly, and therefore the proper name is *ES-
CORIAL*.

THIS little village gives name to the palace of the *ESCURIAL*,
which was built by GIOVANNI BAPTISTA, by order of PHILIP
II. in the year 1563, as appears by this inscription :

D. O. M.
OPERA ADSPICIAT.
PHILIPPVS II.
HISPAN. REX.
A FUNDAMENTIS EREXIT
MDLXIII.
JOAN. BAPTISTA
ARCHITECTUS.
IX. KALEND. MAII.

THE motive which engaged that prince in this religious work,
I shall speak of hereafter ; for, as he had so little piety himself
in mind or action, one cannot but be surprized at his conceiving

such a design. Such as it was however, it gave a fresh occasion of disgust to the Spanish parliament, or the *Cortes*, as they call it, the general assembly of the states, or representatives of the several cities. For PHILIP having called a *Cortes*, to ask supplies for carrying on the war against *France*, the states very freely voted a large subsidy of some millions; which the artful monarch, as soon as he had once secured in his own coffers, applied to the building of this convent. This misapplication of the public revenues so disgusted the *Cortes*, that they met less frequently, and with more reluctance, being unwilling to be cajoled out of their money by the tricks of designing princes: and succeeding monarchs, having found out other ways of raising their supplies, have rarely called a *Cortes* since that time, for a very political reason, the fear of becoming *less absolute*.

THERE are two libraries in the ESCURIAL, one upon the first floor, and the other upon the second: that upon the first floor is a fine, long, arched room; the cieling and the walls all painted by PELLEGRIN Y PELLEGRINI, (a *Milanese*) a disciple of BUANOTI, and BARTHOL. CARDUCHO, a *Florentine*. This library contains all the printed books, excepting some *first editions*, which are kept above, and paintings, and the usual baubles shewn to strangers: such as moneys, medals, and casts; a Jewish shekel; an iman, or calamite stone, or, as I should call it, a *magnet*, weighing seven pounds, which supports an arrobe, or twenty-five pounds weight. Here they shew you an illuminated MS. of the Revelations, in a small folio, supposed to be written by St. AMADEUS: a MS. in gold letters, of the four gospels, in Latin, large folio, upon vellum, written in the time of the Emperor CONRAD, called *the Golden Book of Eusebius Reterodamus*. There are also some other curiosities, mentioned in the *History of this Convent*, by Padre Frey Francisco de los Santos, 4to. Madrid 1667, which I could not obtain a sight of; such as, their oldest MS. of St. AUSTIN *De Baptismo Parvulorum, litteris majusculis Longobardicis*; a MS. of the Gospels, in the oldest Greek letter, a book of St. CHRYSOSTOM'S. These I asked for several times, but was always told, *No puede verle*, or, "You cannot see it:" But I believe they are behind the altar in the sacristy, where I saw a very fine illuminated

Missal, and are made use of to decorate that altar, upon great solemnities, being finely bound. I succeeded no better with regard to a Greek Bible of the Emperor CATACUZENUS, exactly agreeing with the LXX. I asked after the famous drawings of men, women, animals, plants, &c. in several volumes folio, by Don FRANC. HERNANDEZ of TOLEDO, taken soon after their first discovery of AMERICA; but the librarian told me, they were burnt in the fire that made so much havock in this library, on June 7, 1674, which lasted 15 days.

BUT the other library, which is above stairs, contains all the manuscripts, except the few above-mentioned, and is, I believe, one of the noblest collections this day in the whole world. There are 1824 volumes of Arabic MSS. only; Greek MSS. in profusion, in folio and quarto, of immense antiquity, yet fair and legible throughout. There are no less than three MSS. of *Dioscorides*, when it has been thought, that only one MS. of it existed, and that at CONSTANTINOPLE, as BUSBEQUIUS tells us. Here are parts of *Livy*, *Dion Cassius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and others never yet published. If I remember right, I think there are 13 volumes in folio MS. of *Livy* only. Then as to MS. copies of the New Testament, they are in great numbers, either containing the whole or part. There are too some new, unpublished classical authors: three *Olynthick Orations of Demosthenes*; four of the *Philippics*; *Oratio ad Epistolas Philippi*; *Oratio de Republica ordinanda*, *Epistola Philippi*; *Iliad* in black ink, with a comment or scholia by TZETZES, in red ink, in the opposite column. I found there MSS. of *Terence*, *Justin*, *Valerius Maximus*; of *Horace* and *Virgil* many; some of *Juvenal*, *Catullus*, *Tibullus*, and *Propertius*, *Suetonius*, *Sallust*: but, what I regretted much, none of *Tacitus*. The Greek tragedians, &c. in abundance, remarkably finely written, particularly *Aristophanes* in folio: some of the moderns, such as *Aretinus de Bello Punico Primo*: *Idem de Bello Gothico*: *Epistolæ ejusdem*.

I COPIED a little Greek poem, at the head of which was written, *Cartophylacis Bulgaricæ duo Carmina, quæ inscripta sunt Πόθος*. In priori describit Mala Mulieris malæ; in posteriori bona bonæ.—

N.

N. B. *Quis autem noverit, quis Cartophylax hic fuerit; erat enim Nomen Officii, sæpeque inter Libros hosce MSS. occurrunt Opera Johannis Rediaseni, Cartophylaxis Bulgariensis.* The poem itself is not worth inserting here.

WITH regard to the MSS. of the *New Testament*; I was determined to collate two or three of the most remarkable texts, to see how they stood. Having seen in England, how the famous text, *Johannis Epist.* I. cap. V. ver. 7, 8. stood in our *Alexandrian* MS. I took down two of the oldest MSS. of *the Epistles* which I could find in the Escorial, and having a small Greek Testament in my pocket, I collated that text first, in presence of the auditor and some other gentlemen. It is remarkable, that both the MSS. should concur word for word in this reading: "Ὅτι τρεῖς ἔσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν ἔσιν· εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνομεν, κ. τ. λ." One of them read ἐλάβομεν, which, I think, has more force. I do not enter into the controversy whether this be the right, or the wrong reading; I shall only add, that such I found it in two MSS. of a different character, and age, and which did not appear to be copies of each other. But the curious reader, after having examined Dr. MILLS's long note on this verse, and also the tedious comment of Mr. WETSTEIN, may see more in *Une Dissertation Critique sur le Verset septieme du Chapitre V. de la premiere Epître de St. Jean, par M. Martin, à Utrecht, 1717, 12mo.*

As to the famous passage, *ad Timotheum, Epist.* I. c. iii. v. 16. all the MSS. clearly read Θεός, or ΘΣ.

WITH regard to that in the beginning of St. JOHN, it is out of doubt Θεός ἦν ὁ Λόγος, and not Θε, or Θεε, as some would have it.

THERE is in this library all the collection of MSS. and printed books, formerly belonging to the famous Cardinal SIRLETUS, with the cardinal's notes in most of them: the very catalogue itself of Cardinal SIRLETUS's collection is a vast curiosity. The book contains, first, the original letters of the Duke D'OLIVARES, and others, about settling the purchase of it. Then follows the

the catalogue of his Greek MSS. in Greek: the title runs thus, Κατάλογος τῶν Βιβλίων καὶ ἀναγραφέντων τῇ ἐνδοκιμοτάτῃ Καρδινάλῳ Σιρλήτῃ, &c. &c. After this follows a Latin catalogue of his Latin MSS. and printed books; at the end of which the cardinal's librarian tells us, "Take notice, that there is no book here, of what kind soever, in which his eminence hath not wrote with his own hand some notes: *adeo ut omnes aucti & correcti ab ipso verè dici poterint.*"

IN a very old Latin description of the islands of EUROPE, with the maps, the writer, whose name I could not find, mentions the following cities in GREAT BRITAIN, *Londinum, Neomagus, Peturia, Otuana, Callagum, Orria, Coria*: in SCOTLAND, *Trimontum, Uzellum, Rethigonum, Corda, Linopibia*; which I leave for our antiquaries to decypher. In the library below, I found *Aptbonii Προγονάσματα*; *M. Bruti Epistolæ Græco-Latinæ*, and *Phaleridis Epistolæ*, all bound together. Those of Brutus contained only epistles of his to the Pergamenians, with their answer; to the *Rhodiis, Cois, Pataræis, Cauniis, Lyciis, Damia, Cyzicenis, Smyrnæis, Mytelenfibus, Mylefis, Trallianis Bythyniis*, all Greek, per *A. Commelinum*, 1597. One in Latin, *Brutus Ciceroni suo*. The epistles of Phalaris were Περὶ τῇ Επιστολῇ Χαρακτῆρος. Not those which BOYLE published.

BUT to return to the manuscript library above stairs; it certainly abounds with inestimable riches too numerous to be described. But as to the catalogues of the principal Greek, Latin, and Hebrew MSS. I shall give them at length at the end of this account.

ALL this wealth is deposited in the hands of a few illiterate monks, poor *Jeromites*; but they are full as jealous of these treasures, as if they understood their true value. It was with great difficulty, and by the help of some interest, that I got any access at all to these MSS. and when I had got access, if I wrote down or collated any thing, it gave them suspicions; because, say they, if you copy our MSS. the originals will then be worth nothing. That is as much as to say, that the originals will be of no value, if they become of any use.

I do not doubt but there are many very valuable things among the printed books, both below and above stairs; some I have seen, but few of them; such as *Virgil*, in folio, whether a forgery, or not, I cannot say; date 1407. It appeared to me as a literary phenomenon; *Terence* 1482; another *Virgil*, large letter, with superb illuminations. But the backs of the books below stairs are all turned from you, besides being locked up, so that no one but the librarians themselves can possibly tell you what they are; and as they are so wretchedly ignorant, their informations will avail you but very little. They have had no man of learning among them, since the times of ARIAS MONTANUS, who was indeed a truly great man. There is a copy of his Bible, in seven or eight volumes in folio, finely printed on vellum, with the Hebrew text, JEROM's version, the Vulgate, and the LXX.

It is much to be lamented, that this library is not in other hands; for then the world might stand some chance of being benefited by it. MICHAEL SYRI, a Syro-Maronite, one of the King's librarians, has printed one volume of the *Arabic catalogue*; but why it is not permitted to be sold, I cannot say; if it had, I had sent it into England before now.

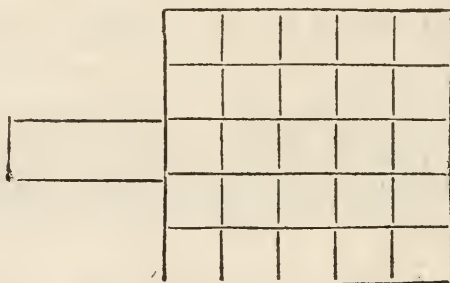
THE principal things in this convent are, first, the *Church*, which is a noble edifice in the inside; its riches and paintings are inestimable; but of these *latter*, I shall give a separate *catalogue* hereafter. The outside, however, of this church, is the heaviest building imaginable. The whole convent is truly a sort of quarry above-ground. It has often put me in mind of those lines of Mr. POPE:

Greatness with Timon dwells in such a draught,
As brings all Brobdignag before your thought.

I can discover no stile of architecture in it, though it is most probably of the Doric order. It is a large, confused stupendous pile, divided into a vast number of square courts. The reason of which is owing to the following circumstance.

PHILIP II. the founder of this convent, made a vow, when he gained the battle of St. QUINTIN, (against the French in the frontiers

tiers of PICARDY, in 1557) six years before, to build a convent at the ESCURIAL for monks of the order of St. JEROM. This order is unknown in France, and was abolished in Italy, because one of them attempted the life of CHARLES BORROMEO. He preferred this order, because he was obliged to cannonade a convent of *Jeromites* during the siege of St. QUINTIN. He said to his confessor during the battle, when the bullets flew about pretty thick, "And how do you like this music?" "And it please your Majesty," replied the monk, "I do not like it at all." "Nor I neither," said the King; "and do not you think *my father* was a very strange man, who could find any diversion in "this kind of entertainment?" The battle was gained on St. LAWRENCE's day, on the 10th of August, wherefore he called the convent after the name of that saint; and as the holy father was unhappily burnt upon a *gridiron*, this prince has immortalized the very manner of his martyrdom: for he has not only stuck gridirons, either of paint, wood, metal, or stone, all over the convent, but has built the very convent itself in the form of a gridiron. That part of the building, which is now the King's apartment, is the handle of the gridiron; and the rest being divided into a great number of square courts, in this form;



it doth not unaptly resemble a gridiron. Having now done with the gridiron, I must not forget another circumstance: As a proper compliment was necessary to be paid to St. LAWRENCE, another was full as necessary to be paid to St. JEROM: St. JEROM, it seems, lived among the mountains, and therefore, tho' from the lofty site of this convent you command one of the most extensive prospects, that you commonly meet with in SPAIN; yet so much respect was to be paid to the memory of this saint, as to turn the

the great front of this convent and palace *directly from the prospect*; so that you should see nothing at all but mountains, as the saint himself had lived among them. They give another reason for this; and say, the chapel could not have stood due east and west without it. Why not? Was there any necessity to make the front of the convent and the church too, both to the same aspect?

BUT high as the names of these two saints stand here, the name of the founder, PHILIP II. is still higher; so that they respect, first, the *Fundador*, then St. LAWRENCE, and then St. JEROM. Their regard for their founder is indeed but a decent part of gratitude; for as he thought he should atone for all his sins by raising this fabric, so he spared no expence to make it complete. It cost PHILIP II. during his reign, 28,000,000 of ducats, which is about 3,360,000 l. sterling. He lived here chiefly the last fifteen years of his life; and when he died, he ordered himself to be brought out in his bed to the feet of the high altar, that he might die in sight of that, and thus he expired. The place where his bed was placed, is since railed off, as sacred; and the late Queen BARBARA was the first person who had courage enough to enter it, since it was shut up after his death.

HOWEVER, some are still so superstitious, as to believe even now, that his unquiet and perturbed spirit still nightly visits his favourite mansion, and stalks horrid round the long arcades and corridors of the ESCURIAL: For a certain princess, to my knowledge, gave orders, last October, that the guard should patrol in the night round the cloysters, to see if PHILIP II's ghost really walked there, or not.

THERE are in the lower library four very fine portraits of CHARLES V. PHILIP II. PHILIP III. and PHILIP IV. In CHARLES V. you see from his face and attitude, in his air and manner, the spirit of a prince, who was born to lead armies to the fields of conquest, and to aim at nothing less than universal monarchy. In PHILIP III. and IV. you discern rather a pacific mien, inclining somewhat to effeminacy. But in PHILIP II. the painter has been

very happily expressive of his character ; cruelty, pride, hypocrisy, malice, revenge, and a dark air of dissimulation, are all well assembled in the lines and colours of his countenance.

BUT however fond he was of this convent, as I said before, he did not live to finish it : The *Pantheon*, or the royal burial-chapel for the Kings of SPAIN, their consorts, and their descendants, tho' begun by the founder, was not completed, but by PHILIP IV. This edifice is so singular, it is no easy matter to describe it, without the help of drawing, so as to give a just idea of it.

INSCRIPTION *on the* PANTHEON..

D. O. M.

*Locus Sacer Mortalitatis Exuviis
Catholicorum Regum,*

A Restauratore Vitæ, Cujus Aræ Max.

Austriaca Adhuc Pietate Subjacent,

Optatam Diem Expectantium,

*Quam Posthumam Sedem Sibi Et Suis
Carolus Cæsarum Max. In Votis Habuit,*

Philippus II. Regum Prudentiss. Elegit.

Philippus III. Vere Pius Inchoavit.

Philippus IIII.

*Clementia, Constantia, Religione Magnus
Auxit, Ornavit, Absolvit,*

Anno Dom. MDCLIIII.

IT is an octagon temple ; the staircase that descends to it, is all fine marble, the walls, cieling, &c. being wainscotted, if I may so term it, with marble, and the inside also of the temple is very richly ornamented in the same manner. As I was going down the stairs, my guide told me, “ Here, Sir, is the *rotting-place* for the “ late Queen AMALIA ; and this, Sir, is the *rotting-place* for the “ young princes :” and so indeed they were ; for the bodies are deposited here till such time as the work of putrefaction is pretty well finished, and the inoffensive relicks are transported into the *Pantheon*.

WHEN

WHEN this vault was finished, PHILIP IV. gave the following directions for removing the bodies into it, by a mandate dated MADRID, March 1654: where he says, "You shall place in it" the Emperor CHARLES V. and Donna ISABELLA his wife; PHILIP II. and his queen Donna ANNA; PHILIP III. and Donna MARGARETA; and the queen Donna ISABELLA, my dear and much-loved wife. The first urn shall be CHARLES V. the last I design for myself, whenever it shall please God to take me from this life."

IT is impossible you should understand these directions of PHILIP IV. without being told, that as this temple is in an octagon form, each side contains three or four niches from top to bottom, with two over the door-case, in all 26: and these are filled up with oblong urns, or *sarcophagi*: each having a brass plate in the center, with the name of the prince or princess which it contains. In this order:

Left-hand side.

Donna ISABELLA, Charles V's Queen.

— ANNA, Philip II's Qu.

— MARGARETA, Philip III's Queen.

— ISABELLA, Philip IV's Queen.

Second left-hand.

MARIA ADELAIDE, Philip V's first Queen. *

AMALIA, Charles III's Queen.

Right-hand side of the Altar, which takes up one eighth of the Room.

CHARLES V.

PHILIP II.

— III.

— IV.

Second right-hand.

CHARLES II.

LUIS I.

There is an urn designed for ISABELLA of PARMA; but she is determined not to lie there.

So that you see, as there are but 26 niches in all, it is just half-full. There are only six kings, and seven queens. The rea-

* Here is one Queen omitted; none are placed here, but what have children.

son of this is, because PHILIP V. is buried at SAN ILDEFONSO ; as the queen-mother intends to be, whenever she dies ; though she says, “ She had much rather not die at all,” having an utter aversion to that operation. But, I fear, ELIZABETH of PARMA and TUSCANY must be contented to tread the same gloomy paths which all the ISABELS and KATHARINES of ARRAGON trod before her. FERDINAND VI. and his Queen BARBARA of PORTUGAL are buried at the new convent of the *Salesas* in MADRID, which they founded.

I REMEMBER being told by an English earl, who travelled into SPAIN a few years since, That when he came to see the *Pantheon*, he asked the guide, who shewed to him this vault, how it came to pass, that he saw there so few princes of the house of BOURBON ? “ My lord,” says the man, “ the reason is, that they “ are all afraid of the man with the great whiskers ;” meaning CHARLES V. “ for,” says he, “ if those princes of the house of “ BOURBON were to come here, they would never agree, and there “ would be such a dance of the dead, as would be heard as far as “ MADRID.”

BUT to be serious, it is certainly a great pity, that the Spanish kings and queens are not now all placed together, as this certainly is a *mausoleum* worthy of their reception, and in every respect suitable to the grandeur of the Spanish monarchy. I confess, were I King of SPAIN, I should make no scruple of ordering it so, without ever thinking, that I in the least disquieted thereby the repose of their ashes.

—— *id credis cineres curare sepultos ?*

Or, as another says,

—— *nec sentit damna sepulchri.*

BUT before I take my leave of the *Pantheon*, which shews you by its very name the great and majestic ideas which the *Spaniards* entertain of their sovereigns ; since this is not the burial-place of their *monarchs*, but their *Gods* : I must not omit one very extraordinary anecdote, which is as follows.

WHEN

WHEN PHILIP IV. in 1654, as I said before, removed the bodies designed for this mausoleum from their antient sepulchres, with all the funeral pomp and solemnity possible, nay, I might add, conceivable: That they were re-buried with the most awful services and functions of mass and burial imaginable, at which PHILIP IV. assisted in person: and, in conclusion, a monk of the order of St. JEROM, spoke a funeral oration, with this remarkable text, taken from the Prophet EZEKIEL, chap. xxxvii. verse 4. *O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord!*

THIS oration, or funeral discourse, I had curiosity enough to translate part of; and it is indeed the most extraordinary funeral sermon I ever saw.



*Part of a FUNERAL ORATION, spoken upon
removing the Bodies of the KINGS and QUEENS of
SPAIN into the Vault at the ESCURIAL, in
1654.*

O GREAT GOD! where shall the understanding go that is not struck with admiration? What is this discourse, Sacred Catholic, Royal, and August Majesty! that shall not be finished in the time! What is this wonder that is found in the state of men! What is this fear, that keeps pace with the revolution of years? What is it? Can the world hope to see such a theatre of Majesties? Seven crowns, which have not been joined together in seventy ages; who would ever have thought, that they could meet together to hear one sole orator? What imagination could suggest this assemblage of dead Kings, hearing a sermon, as well as if they were alive? Who has brought hither your *Cæsarean* Majesties? Monarchs great of the earth, great Monarchs in heaven!

heaven ! Who has brought you hither ! But what do I ask ? That God is God, and cannot fail in that, which he has spoken—Let us hear him with reverence.

“ *Son of man, prophecy concerning these bones, and say unto them, Dry bones, hear the word of the Lord ; Thus saith the Lord : Behold I will open your tombs, and I will lead you out of your sepulchres, and I will bring you into the land of Israel.*” EZEK. xxxvii. 4. Let us adore the secrets of God ; a function so great, as this of to-day, requires that it should have been foretold by prophecy in this 37th chapter of EZEKIEL. *Ossa arida*, “ *Dry bones,*” this is the day to hear a sermon : *Audite verbum Domini* : “ *Hear the word of the Lord :*” That is to hear ? Perhaps the voice of the living shall break the silence of the dead ? Perhaps those who die are not deaf till the sound of the last trumpet ? *In novissima tuba.*

PERHAPS—but suppose I do not say perhaps ; there are dead, which in ending their lives do not enter into death ; there are dead, which rest with a desire of life, and these hear as well as if they were alive, but if there were such, how should our princes die ? Ask the most eminent cardinal of BETHLEHEM, JEROM ; which great *Palestine* doctor left in some of his writings, language and spirit sufficient to form this discourse to the glory of our most potent SPANISH Monarchs : It is all his, great Sir, because all St. JEROM, all his religion, all his sons, and all his splendor, and all his exaltation is derived from your *Cæsarean* Majesty, and from the Cæsars your ancestors. Of what death did those die whom God made Potentates ? Ask JEROM, and ask him upon occasion of seeing MOSES die. Of what grief ? Of what accident ? Of what infirmity ? Who will say thus, *Mortuus est Moyses jubente Domino* ; “ *Moses died because the Lord commanded him ; He died obedient.*” The LXX translate it, *Mortuus est Moyses per verbum Domini* ; “ *God killed Moses by his word.*” And here we may explain the first Apocalypse of St. JOHN the Evangelist. Admire and hear the Almighty, who speaks thus—*I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the ending ;*

but how sharp a word is the *ending* ! And its force is to be sharp, because with that comes out of the mouth a two-edged sword. *De ore ejus gladius utraque parte acutus exibat.* What different things hath God said by that mouth ! *He breatheth into his nostrils the breath of life.* With that breath and spirit in the breast of ADAM, the mouth said truly, *I am the beginning, I am the beginning of life.* And what a sword was that which said, *I am the end, I am the end, I cut the thread of life.* How powerful is God ! What must those lips be, which speak life, and speak death at the same time.

DIE MOSES, die now, now, now ; God kills thee with his word ; expect it ; a death which is caused by the word, death is hearing, because it is death to hear God much. *He it is, who lived by the word, and dies by the word,* says JEROM to FABIOLA. *For if he seems to have been governed by the spirit of the word, he could cease from that government by the word only.* Princes, who are made such by the hand of the Most High, shall die by the same means which they lived ; they live by hearing God, and when they die, the voice rests them being heard, they die and hear. See here a sovereign auditory of dead bodies : O my most august auditory ! Ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord.

HEAR thou *Cæsarean Majesty*, GERMAN CHARLES, FRENCH CHARLES, ITALIAN CHARLES, AFRICAN CHARLES, INDIAN CHARLES, SPANISH CHARLES, CHARLES most gloriously the Fifth, hear, thou *Cæsarean Majesty*, the voice of a monk of the order of St. JEROM, who will not think it strange, because he expired hearing our voices, and our songs. *Thus saith the Lord.* This is what God says : *Ecce ego aperiam tumulos vestros ;* “ the day shall come, in which I will open your tombs ;” and is not this to-day ? It is plain : *And I will lead you out of your sepulchres.* And is not this time come, in which from the obscurity of your sepulchres ye are taken out into the light of the living ? Is it not now ? Who doubts it ? *Et inducam vos in terram Israel ;* “ And thence here ye shall come into a land like Israel :” And is not this now ? It is certain.

BUT before we leave the subject, that ye lost life, what? Have we not to give to the eternity of fame, a voice of praise, which will fill the world. The text says, *Fili hominis vaticinare de ossibus istis*; “Man divine concerning those bones before thee.” And JEROM explains it, that the bones of the just were to be exalted and praised, as it were with the spirit of prophets, and the fury of the old sybils. Men call those dead deities: What grief! To be commanded to exalt those with the prophetic spirit, and to have only mine own? *Quasi spiritu vatum*. But let him use that which he is able, and let it become fury, *quasi furore*. Let it be fury, because it is boldness; it shall be boldness, and let us begin with the greatest man of men. There thou art, thou always conqueror, and never conquered CHARLES! there thou art gone. And God leaves me to say, that it is the honour of his Divine Majesty, which is much honoured there.

THE first angel grew proud; that action has always been wondered at; of what could Lucifer be proud? Of being very handsome? No; because it is easy to imagine, that God was handsomer. Of much understanding? Much less; because he must own that of God to be greater. Of much valour? Softly. *Ubi eras, quando me laudabunt astra matutina?* said God to Job. “Come hither, where wast thou, when the morning stars sang praise to me? *Astra matutina*---” JEROM says in his commentary upon this passage: “The morning stars are the angels inseparable from God, because they were first called to sing his praise.” Which orison of that great world sweet and sonorous birds celebrated; the angels of God dispraised themselves sounding his praises; and well. Do we not know what they sung? Isaiah tells us, Holy, holy, holy Lord God of Hosts. With those words broke forth the first morning of heaven and earth, Holy, holy, &c. how well it sounds? What is it to sound well? Does Lucifer say, Lord God of the Hosts of God? And my valour? and my spirit? and my vivacity? Moreover I say, I will ascend into heaven, I will be like the Most High.

ST. JEROM says in his *Hebrew* traditions, that Lucifer being made prefect of the camps of God, was seized with such a mili-

tary ardor, that he could not bear even God the Lord of Hosts. Lucifer grew proud of his valour; he was the first of the celestial hosts; he was general of them; O ill-gotten employment! He was lost by his much valour, which threw out many vain boasts against God, and that he could equal him in sounding the voice of war: *Lord God of Hosts.*

THAT best gift of valour, which God has given to his creatures, broke out into pride: *I will ascend into heaven.* The most heroic spirit of the warrior budded out into arrogance: *I will be like the Most High.* The most brave impulse of the warrior appeared in making a riotous war in all heaven—*Michael fought with the dragon.* O great Creator! what could make a boaster! and what could prompt the proud! O Lord God of Hosts, from that throne divine, let thy sovereign Majesty behold this human tomb, now redressed from the wrongs of old. This potent arm was in CHARLES: But what did it not do? It made him monarch of both worlds; it made him a firm pillar of the church; it made him a cutting sword against heresy; it made him a shining light to infidels; it made him the terror, and the admiration of rebels; it made him a general arbitrator of all empires; it made him feared by FRANCE, obeyed by GERMANY, acknowledged by ITALY, and revered by EUROPE; it made ASIA tremble; it humbled AFRICA; it conquered AMERICA; it caused his valour and fortune to obtain more trophies and victories, than all monarchies have counted; it made at length a man, than whom, from the first of men, the world hath not seen one more valiant, more fortunate, more a soldier, or more glorious.

Now ask Curiosity, This warrior, in whom God effected so much, how did he meet God? What must be the joy in heaven to see one man amend the fault of an angel?

PERMIT me here to paraphrase the second vision of PATHMOS: *Vidi & audiui vocem angelorum multorum; "There resounded the populous voice of many angels."* How many? Millions of millions. It ought to be a great thing, that cannot be contained in so many breasts! Which was poured out by so many mouths; it ap-

pears to be a novelty ; it appears to be a mystery, if it is a mystery : God, who can clear it, does clear it ; behold it plain, and given to be seen ; *Ecce ostium apertum in cælo : A gate opens in heaven : beautiful appearance !* St. JOHN the Evangelist looks at this, and says---There is a throne : *Ecce sedes posita in cælo.* And well ? Have they not reason to rejoice, that God holds his throne in heaven ? Who will say so ? Stay---Behold the Lamb standing in the middle of the throne : On that throne, where there is a lamb, shall be God, and he shall reign for ever with patience ; it is much that there appears a lamb. Suppose that a procession came from the other part. -I say more. *Behold the lion of the tribe of Judah has conquered.* That Lamb is also a Lion. Let it go ; a novelty appears ; but God has both qualities, he is gentle, and he is valiant. But further : There do not come from thence the words. Do not attempt it, because it is great. There walked four and twenty seniors, and laid down their crowns before the throne : There go Kings, if they are Kings, and quit their crowns. God bless me ! Kings crowned, and their crowns laid aside ! yes, they lay them at the feet of the Lion-Lamb ; Jesus ! what a novelty ! and so great, says JEROM, so great, that it is only seen in heaven : but what voices are those, which spring from thence ? It is true, ZACHARIAS writes in the third chapter it is true ; we read in the Revelations of seniors singing a new song, new because it was heard not on earth, but in heaven ; *That potentates despised the crown of power.* One crown well altogether in right, and nature, it is little to draw it from theirs and to let it fall at the feet of God ? Is it little ? Since when once it is seen in heaven, heaven is filled with applause and admiration.

MAY God preserve August CHARLES in his glory ! thou hast given to be seen among men that novelty, which the angels most celebrate. What front of the sons of ADAM was better girded than thine ? What crown was enriched with such resplendent stones ? Catholic, magnanimous, potent, just, pious, liberal, amiable, feared, heroic, not to be withstood. Holy God ! from whence came the lights of that Imperial diadem ? From whence ? And the world beheld them, and the world beheld him quit the crown, and renounce the greatest of all human pomp, with these

words : *Tu solus Dominus, tu solus Altissimus ; Thou only art the Lord, thou only art the most High.* I say, that here broke forth the voices of all *Jerusalem* triumphant, the voices of many angels.

IT might be a novelty in heaven, as well as earth, to see a majesty, which almost was not contained in the world, to see him contain himself in the narrow cell of a monk ? without aspiring, but after death ; without any more life, than what sufficed to meditate on a good death. This might be a spectacle of wonder to the most fortunate, to see the most triumphant Emperor celebrating the last triumph of his life, and at the same time the obsequies of his death. This appears only to be a child of the imagination, but it was real fact.

THEY erected a tomb in the church of St. JUSTUS, but without apparatus, without pomp ; that he, who when alive was above all, was willing to die no more than a mere man : The mass for his soul was celebrated with solemnity ; and there were two sacrifices ; one, that of the altar ; the other, that of his breast : The time of the *Responso* came ; the mourning of the body. He entered the church in mourning ; while he lived there was no entrance so glorious as that : He placed himself (who yet had vigour) in the front of the tomb ; he was the sole actor of that theatre ; he was alive, and represented one dead, with so much propriety, that even he thought himself, that he was dying ; and it is certain, that from that place he went and died : The monks sung, and wept ; they esteemed him as their master, and even to think, that he was to die, was a grief. And to think that he really was to die became a torment. What a great thing was it to see, that majestic age of CHARLES all attentive, with a taper in his hand, as if with his light he was contemplating the dark glooms of death ; he bathed in tears his venerable cheeks, as one who died with understanding, and knew what it was to die, and understood that there were faults to be bewailed. He prayed the Divine Majesty for his soul, never more happy ; since, for this his supplication, God was giving him life at that time to enable him to make that prayer. The *requiescam in pace* was sung ; and lifting up his crying eyes to heaven, he said aloud, *Amen.* And he was in suspense long

enough to remain in a lively faith, that the Lord of the living and the dead heard him. He turned himself to the priest, and prostrating himself before him, he offered into his hands the lighted taper, saying: *Into thy hands I commend my spirit.* Into those hands, which had compleated offering to the Eternal Father the unbloody sacrifice of his only Son, he placed his soul; and from thence he went to that bed, in which he died a natural death. &c. &c. &c.

THE KING'S OTHER PALACES.

BUT before I go on to the paintings and manuscripts, give me leave to take this opportunity of describing briefly the rest of his Catholic Majesty's palaces, that I may dispatch for once this article all together.

THE BUEN RETIRO, or the old palace in MADRID, is not so good a royal mansion as St. JAMES'S: a very indifferent quadrangle, with gardens, which no one would mention here, as being any thing extraordinary.

THE PALATIO NUEVO is indeed a very fine fabric in MADRID; but then it has cost two millions sterl. of our money already. It was begun in 1725, and is not finished, and has no gardens, or opening round it as yet.

THE palace of SAN ILDEFONSO is a very good one; the building not grand, nor in a good taste; but the gardens are magnificent, and the fountains the finest in Europe: The gardens are said to have cost five millions sterling. During the building and finishing of this palace, &c. in the years 1731, 32, 33, I have been told, that neither the army, navy, officers of the court, or the ambassadors abroad received any pay, tho' it was in time of war. The statuary who made the fountains was never paid; he died of poverty and a broken heart. The same thing, it is said, happened to the man, who made the iron rails at HAMPTON COURT for King WILLIAM; QUEEN ANNE did not choose to pay the debt. I mention this circumstance as a sort of apology for QUEEN ISABEL'S not remembering an artist employed by PHILIP.

THIS

THIS palace is about sixty miles from MADRID. When the court goes thither, most ambassadors, except the family ones, reside at SEGOVIA, about ten miles distant: tho' his late Majesty thought that too far off.

THE palace of the SARSUELO, a few miles out of MADRID, is nothing but a hunting-box.

THE palace of the PARDO, about eight miles out of MADRID, is likewise but an indifferent seat for an *English* country-gentleman.

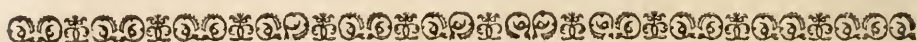
THE palace of ARANJUEZ, about thirty miles distant from MADRID, is a very tolerable edifice; has one fine front; is agreeably situated in a pleasant vale upon the confluence of two rivers, the *Xárama*, and the *Tagus*. The air becomes very unhealthy, when the heats begin. Though the gardens are only a dead flat, and the walks plantations of trees in strait rows, yet there is something chearful and refreshing in so cool and shady a spot. Here are rows of very fine elms, tho' raised and watered at an incredible expence; particularly in the Queen's Walk, or the *Calle de la reyna*, which is as noble an avenue or vista, as any to be found in England.

THE palace of the CASA DEL CAMPO is close to MADRID, but an indifferent box, now quite neglected, and used only by the king for shooting.

THE palace of the RIO FRIO is a new building, not yet finished, within a few miles of SEGOVIA: It was begun by the present queen-dowager, about nine years ago, who never went to see it till last year. She will probably leave it to the Infant Don LUIS.

THERE are several other palaces, and royal mansions in different parts of SPAIN, but most of them are ruinous, or forsaken. The *Alcázar of Segovia*, I have described in another place; and the palace at TOLEDO was burnt by the allies in the succession-war. Since MADRID was made the capital, or rather since (to go back to the true cause) the kingdoms were united, these stately edifices

mouldered away, and became almost as forgotten as the vain monarchs, who first raised them to sooth their pride. They now form a set of very fine remains, to gratify the curiosity or *virtú* of modern travellers, particularly at CORDUBA, SEVILLE, and GRANADA.



LIST of PICTURES in the Convent of the ESCURIAL.

LIBRARY.

Cieling and walls painted by *Pellegrino* and *B. Carducho*.
 Painting of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine disputing. Motto, *A logicâ Augustini libera nos, domine!*
 Portraits of Charles V.

Philip II.

Philip III. par *J. Pantoja de la Cruz*, regiae majestati
 Camerarius; Pictor.

Philip III.

Philip IV. por *Diego Velasquez*.

CHURCH.

Painted Cielings by *Luca Giordano*.

Juan. Fern. Mudo.

Fred. Zucaro.

Pellegrino y Pellegrini.

SACRISTY.

Over the door through which you enter.

Woman taken in adultery. *Van Dyke*.

Lower range on the right-hand side.

Christ in the garden (6 feet long, 5 broad) *Titian*.

Elizabeth and Mary. *Raphael*.

Virgin

Virgin and child.

Titian.

Christ washing the disciples feet. *This picture is 7 feet broad, and 19 feet long: bought by the Spanish ambassador out of Charles I's collection; as well as the next, which sold for 250 l.*

Tintoret.

Madona y Bambino.

Andrea del Sarto.

Christ scourged.

Luca Cangiagio.

Ecce Homo.

Titian.

Upper range on the right-hand side.

Madona y Bambino.

Guido Rheni.

Noli me tangere (8 feet long, 3 broad)

Corregio.

Joseph and the infant.

Paul Veronese.

Christ bearing the cross.

Sebast. del Piombo.

Magdalen.

Titian.

Pharisees with the tribute-money.

Id.

Affumption.

Hannibal Caracci.

Sacrifice of Isaac.

Paul Veronese.

Altar-Piece.

Host elevated to Charles II.

Claudio Clelio.

On the left-hand side, beginning from the altar.

St. Margaret.

Titian.

St. Sebastian.

Id.

Christ taking the fathers out of limbo (8 feet high, 4 broad)

Id.

Holy family, after their flight into Egypt.

Id.

Magdalen (5 feet long, 3 broad)

Tintoret.

Holy family, *bought out of Charles I's collection, and sold for 2000 l. This picture was called the pearl of Philip IV.*

Raphaël.

Christ before Pilate.

Titian.

St. Jerom.

Van Dyke.

Christ on the cross.

Titian.

Mary Magdalen before her repentance.

Paul Veronese.

In the SALAS CAPITULARES.

First Sala.

Holy family.	<i>Rubens.</i>
Conversion of St. Paul (10 feet long, 16 broad)	<i>Palma Vecchin.</i>
Centurion (9 feet long, 14 broad)	<i>Paul Veronese.</i>
David's victory over Goliath (10 feet long, 16 broad)	<i>Palma Vecchio.</i>
Heads of two apostles.	<i>Guido Rheni.</i>
St. Nicholas.	
Holy family.	<i>Rubens.</i>
Woman in adultery.	<i>Van Dyke.</i>
Virgin and child.	<i>Leonardo Vincio.</i>

Second Sala.

Dead Christ.	<i>Raphael.</i>
Esther and Ahasuerus (10 feet high, 16 broad)	<i>Tintoret.</i>
Jacob seeing Joseph's bloody coat (same size as the former)	<i>Don Diego Velasquez.</i>
Christ giving the keys to St. Peter (six feet high, 8 broad)	<i>Giorgione de Castel Franco.</i>
Martyrdom of St. Sebastian.	<i>Spagnolett.</i>

Before the entrance of the king's apartment.

St. John and the lamb.	<i>Spagnolett.</i>
St. Roque.	<i>Id.</i>
St. Sebastian.	<i>Id.</i>
St. Thomas.	<i>Id.</i>
The heads of the Virgin and Child in basso relievo, cut out of porphyry.	
Christ dead.	<i>Spagnolett.</i>
Æsop.	<i>Id.</i>
A philosopher.	<i>Id.</i>
St. Andrew.	<i>Id.</i>
Heraclitus.	<i>Id.</i>
Democritus.	<i>Id.</i>
Christ dead in his father's bosom.	<i>Id.</i>
Blind philosopher.	<i>Id.</i>

St.

St. Jerom penitent.

Spagnolett.

Nativity.

Luca Giordano.

St. Thomas convinced.

*Id.**In the Anti-Sacristia.*

St. Peter and St. Paul.

Spagnolett.

St. John preaching.

Paul Veronese.

Presentation in the temple.

Id.

Flight into Egypt.

Titian.

Lord's supper.

Rubens.

Apostles heads.

{ *Almuda and*
*Juan Fernandes.**Over the door upon the stair-case into the church.*Christ, St. John, Virgin Mary, and St. Anne. *Raphael.**In a small room near the King's apartment.*

Holy family.

Raphael.

This picture is called *Nuestra senora del los piscayo*, or, *Our lady of the fish*. It is the finest in the whole collection, and of immense value. The Virgin is seated with the infant in her lap; Joseph stands by, holding a book. A boy presents some fish in his hand, behind whom stands an angel. Usari says of it, in his life of Raphael, that it was painted for a church at Naples. See *The history of the Escorial*, page 224.

THERE are, in this convent, 51 statues, 1622 paintings in oil; 10 cieling by Luca Giordano, with the battle of St. Quintin, by the same hand.

Marriage of Cana

Paul Veronese.

This picture was certainly bought out of Charles I's collection, but where placed, I cannot say.

WHETHER the pictures that came from England, were bought by DON LEWIS MENDEZ DE HARO, as the Spaniards say, or by DON ALONZO DE CARDINAS, as Lord CLARENDON affirms, is a controversy of no moment. The fact is certain that we have lost

the pictures; and the sale of them in CROMWELL was mean and infamous. Lord CLARENDON and Lord COTTINGTON were sent away from the Spanish court, lest they should see them. This sufficiently shows, that that court itself thought it to be a base transaction.

THERE are many fine collections of paintings in SPAIN besides this; the churches and convents abound with them. There is a most magnificent one at the palace of SAN ILDEFONSO; where there is likewise an amazing collection of antique statues, of the *Muses*, *Cleopatra*, *Venus Medici*, and of *Ægyptian* and *Roman Deities* and *River-gods*: some at the BUEN-RETIRO, some at ARANJUEZ. Many pictures in the possession of the Marquis DONIATI, at *Madrid*: Great numbers in the king's new palace in that city, which the famous painter MINX is just come from ROME to decorate. Their great painters, besides SPAGNOLETT, have been MURILLO, DON DIEGO VELASQUEZ, and DON FERNANDES MUDO. The most numerous works of the first are at SEVILLE, where he died. The second was a most astonishing master of the art, great in design and expression, as may be seen in that picture of his in the ESCURIAL, where JOSEPH's bloody coat is brought to JACOB. The third was chiefly a ceiling-painter, and worked in fresco. It seems to me to be a great error, in imagining ITALY to be the only school for painters: SPAIN, if visited by some of our artists, would, I am persuaded, open new, astonishing, and unexamined treasures to their view. The sculptor would return back with improved models, and the painter with a fancy enriched from the works of great masters, that have been little studied. And I recommend it to the gentlemen patrons of *the arts and sciences*, as an object worthy their attention, to send some person thither for that purpose.

LETTER VIII. PART II.

Catalogus MANUSCRIPTORUM LIBRORUM in Bibliothecâ SCORIALENSI Cœnobii Sancti LAU- RENTII in *Hispaniâ*.

A.

A Cronis Comm. in Horatium
Acta Apost. & Epist. Can.
cum Glossis
Æmilianus Codex
Æmilii Probi (sive Corn. Nepotis)
excellentium Ducum Vitæ, fol.
Idem, & ex Libro Cornelii de Lati-
nis Historicis Vitæ
Annæus Seneca
Æneæ Sylvii, sive Pii II. Vita
Æsopi Vita & Fabulæ
Alberti Medici, de Medicinâ
Albi Tibulli Carmina & Vita, 4to.
Quintus Curtius
Arrianæ Historiæ
Alphonfi Arr. Regis Historia, cum
Privilegiis Regni
Alphonfi Regis Epistolæ
Apocalypsis Fr. Amadæi, mire illu-
minata & depicta
Ambrosii Moralis Miscellanea
And. Alciati Lect. Var.
Annotationes in Horatium & alios
auctores

Constitutionum Græcarum Codicis
Collectio, & Interpretatio, cum
Epitome Novell. Julian. per Ant.
Augustinum
Idem de Notis
Idem de Notis Antiq. Cod. Decretal.
Apocalypsis S^{ti} Johannis, cum Ex-
positione & pulchris Figuris
Apocalypsis Fr. Amadæi
Apollonii Conica
Elementa, lib. 4.
Arrag. Regni Legitima Successio
Archimedis Liber Secundus
Arriani Historia
Auli Gellii de Noctibus Atticis
Ausonii Poemata
Ambrosii Moralis Annotationes
Excerpta quæ-
dam de Concil. Tolet.

B.

Barcelonæ Regni Consuetudines
Jura Cataloniæ
Privilegia & Foedera
Constit. Synod. Aragon.
X 2 Bi-

Biblia vulg. edit.
 vulg. cum Interpret. & Gloss.
 vulg.
 vulg. diversâ ordine disposita
 fol.
 fol.
 a Genesi usque ad Sancti Jo-
 hannis Evangelium
 a Proverbiis usque ad Apocal.
 Psalt. Proverb. Eccles. Cant.
 Literis Longobardicis
 Psal. cum Offic. Defunctorum
 Psalt. Literis Gothicis
 Iterum
 Iterum
 Ecclesiasticus
 Proph. Minor. cum Comment.
 Novum Testamentum.
 Evangelicæ Liber Vitæ, litte-
 ris aureis, jussu Henrici Conradi
 Imp. f.
 Pauli Ep. cum Comment.
 Act. & Ep. Canon. cum Gloss.
 Acta, Ep. & Apocalypsis
 Apocalypsis, cum Comment.
 & figuris, literis perantiquis
 Apocalypsis cum Comment.
 Apocalypsis, literis Gothicis
 Blondi & Columellæ Fragm. quæd.
 Boetii Hist. Eccles. Belgarum, Teu-
 tonumque
 Bruti Epist. per Renuitum, Latinè
 C.
 Canones Apost. Literis Gothicis
 Cassiodori Opera
 Catonis Distica, & alia quædam
 ad Legem, Si quis pro eo, &c.
 Catulli Poemata.
 Constitut. & Leges, per Petrum, Ar-
 ragonum Regem
 Ciceronis Officia
 Ciceronis Officia, cum Epitaph. a
 XII viris compos.

Offic. de Amicitia, Senec-
 tute, Paradox. & Somn. Scipionis
 Iterum, cum Comment.
 de Officiis Liber
 Iterum, Liber III.
 de Officio ad Q. Fratrem.
 Epistolæ Familiares
 Iterum, Lib. XXI.
 Iterum
 Iterum, Lib. XV.
 Epistolæ ad Atticum
 Iterum
 pro M. Marcello, Oratio
 Oratio pro M. Marcello,
 Dejotaro, Ligario, & Philippica-
 rum, Lib. IV.
 Orationes pro Pompeio,
 Marcello, Ligario, Milone, Plan-
 co, Sylla, Licinio, Archia, Dejo-
 taro, Q. Flacco, Cluentio, Sextio,
 Murena, M. Cælio, L. Cornelio,
 in Vatinius, de Aruspicum Re-
 sponfis, de Provinciis Consulari-
 bus, pro L. Flacco, de Petitione
 Consulatus, pro Roscio, in L. Pi-
 sonem, in Rullum, pro Leg. Ag-
 rar. in Rutilium, pro C. Rabirio
 duæ, & pro Cecina
 pro Pompeio, Milone,
 Planco, Sulla, Archia, Marcello,
 Ligario, Dejotaro, de Reditu, &
 alia ad Populum, in P. Clodium,
 pro M. Cælio, in Vatinius, &c.
 ut supra.
 pro Pompeio, Marcello,
 Ligario, Dejotaro, Archia, Plan-
 co, alia pridie quam iret in exi-
 lium, pro Milone, in Vatinius,
 pro suo reditu, & Philippicarum
 libri XIII.
 pro Marcello, in Catalin.
 & Catalinæ in Ciceronem
 Cice-

Ciceronis Orationes in L. Pisonem,
pro Milone, Plancio, Ligario Sulla,
Flacco, Roscio, Marcello, de
Reditu ad Senatum, & alia ad Popu-
lum, pro Dejotaro, Archia,
Sestii in Salustium, & Salustii in
Ciceronem

pro variis, ut supra
Philippica

Ciceronis Partitiones Oratoricæ, ad
M. Brutum
de Partitione Artis Rhe-
toricæ

Rhetorica ad Herennium,
& de Inventione

ad Heren. liber, & ad Q.
Fratrem

Academ. Quæst. & ad
Herenn. Rhetor.

Philippicarum Quæst. lib.
XIV, & Fragmenta quædam

Orationes Verrinæ

De Inventione Rhetor.

In Catalinam

In Salustium

Rhetorica

De Oratore

Ad Brutum

De Oratore Perfecto libri

III. ad Q. F.

Iterum

Iterum

De Oratore, cod. antiq.

Iterum; ad Brutum; Topica
De Fato; Acad. Quæst. ad
Herennium; Rhetorica

De claris Oratoribus

De Inventione

De Orat. gen. ad Brutum

de Oratione ad Qu. Frat.

De Oratoris Officio

Rhetoricorum lib. II. ad

Herennium, de Natura Deorum
VI. de Divinatione de Fato; de
Officiis III.

Ciceronis Rhetoricorum IV.

Ad Herennium Rhetorica
Tusculanæ Quæstiones IV.

Iterum

Iterum

Iterum

Iterum

De Divinatione

Tusculanæ Quæstiones

Philippicæ

Causa ad RR. ante exilium

ad Verrem

De Legibus

Iterum, & Academica

De Partitione Orationis.

Fragmenta

Catalin. Orat.

Liber Hortensius

De Natura Deorum

De Finibus

De Divinatione

De Fato

In Catalinam

Som. Scipionis

De Amicitia & Senectute

De Divinatione, lib. II.

Iterum

De Amicitia & Senectute

Som. Scipionis

De Finibus

De Natura Deorum

Divinatione

Topica

De Fato

Acad. Quæst.

De Senectute

De Amicitia

Paradoxa

Som. Scipionis

Paradoxa

Cicero.

- Cicero de Natura Deorum
 Divinatione
 De Fato
 De Re Militari
 Som. Scipionis
 De Amicitia
 Som. Scipionis
 Senectute
 Paradoxa
- Cindasiumthi & aliorum Regum Liber Judiciorum, fol. Literis Gothicis, compactus cum Æmiliano Codice
- Claudiani Opera, 4to. in Memb.
- Ejusdem Opera aliquot
- Constitutiones & Canon. Apostol.
- Codex Æmilianus, & Codex Confiliorum Virgilianus, Literis Gothicis in Memb. fol. Tom. duo j. d. 1. 2.
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Is Tzetæ Exp. in Lycophronem

Isidori Epistolæ

Isocratis Oratio ad Dæmonicum

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Justiniani Imp. Novellæ

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Orationes duæ

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Nic. Chalcocondyli Hist. Turc. usque ad Mahomet, Libri X.

L.

Leonis Imp. Constitutiones Bellicæ
Ecclogæ Digestorum & Novellarum

Libanii Soph. μινώδια, pro Imp. Juliano, &c.

Epistolæ

Libanii Epistola ad Proconsulem Montium, qui ab ipso postulaverat

ut scriberet Demosthenis Vitam, et omnium Orationum ejus Argumenta

Epistolæ ad Basilium

Orationes

Tractatus & Epistolæ

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Epistolæ

Luciani Philop. Opuscula

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Nonni Dionysiaca, Lib. XXIV.

Inscriptiones, ex iisdem, Lib. XLVIII.

O.

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Oppiani Libri de Aucupio, forte Κυνήγεια

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Max. Monachum

P.

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cratem

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De Febribus

P. Alexandrini de Domûs Domi-
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Idem & Cratylus

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gias, cum XXVIII. Dialogis

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Libros de Legibus, & aliquot
Dialogos

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Psalterium

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cumento, & de Restitutione, fol.
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betica Psalmorum

De Medicâ Materia ex Galeno, &
Dioscoride excerpta quædam,
Opus Anonymi

De eâdem Liber

R. Moyſis Chimchy Liber Gram-
Hebraicæ

On Kelos, 4to. in Memb.

R. Salamonis Filii, Moyſis, Malgu-
rii, Domus Dei, Liber sic appel-
latus, in quo tractatur de Causâ,
ob quam Moyſes tegebat suam
faciem Velo : Et quare Tabulæ
Legis scriptæ erant in utroque
Latere ; & alia secreta Legis Ra-
binorum, & aliorum his similium
in Fol. in Membr.

Commentaria in Daniele, Prover-
bia, Cantica, Ruth, & Threnos.

in Pentateuchum

in Leviticum

in Numeros.

R. Salmonis Liber de Medicamen-
tis, fol.

Targum Onkelos, 4to. in Memb.

L E T T E R IX.

Description of the City of TOLEDO.

WE arrived at the city of TOLEDO, from ARANJUEZ, where the court then was, May 12, 1761. We travelled in a coach drawn by six mules, and were conducted by the *Arrieros*, or carriers, as is usual: For you must know, that the nobility and gentry of SPAIN only use postilions, or drivers, in the cities and great towns; and when they take a journey, tho' they go in their own coaches, they generally have hired mules, and two drivers, one sitting between the two fore-wheels, upon the bed of the carriage, and the other generally running along-side of the mules: which, as the two last only are reined, or rather roped, run on with the coach with their heads pointing four or five different ways. This is but a trifling circumstance, yet even the merest trifles may sometimes serve to shew the turn and genius of a people. We found the road to TOLEDO good for travellers, the country about it but indifferent, tolerably tilled, and planted with *olive-trees*: We passed almost the whole way upon the banks of the TAGUS, which are not by any means such as would furnish a poet with fine landscapes, or beautiful images. But the river runs through a rude and wild waste: the windings of it near the city of TOLEDO are beautiful; and where the river passes between the rocks on which the city is built, and those adjoining, with the bridge and gate of the city, all together form such a view, as the wild imagination of the extravagant SALVATOR ROSA would have delighted in.

THE Cathedral is certainly equal in riches to the grandeur of the see, but not in fabric; which is of the modern Gothic, not remarkably large, rich in carving, but the building neither light, nor of a good taste: the cieling of the sacristy is painted by LUCA GIORDANO, and is indeed fine, entire, and well-preserved. There are some valuable pictures, one particularly of TITIAN: the custodia, jewels, pearls, and precious stones, are inconceivable, as well as inestimable: altars with steps to them of massy silver, gilt; the figures of the four quarters of the world, each dressed with the precious stones peculiar to its own quarter, and sitting on globes of two feet diameter, the globe resting on a pedestal, and that on a base; the figure, globe, pedestal, and base being all together about ten feet high: all these, of massy silver, were the gift of CHARLES II's Queen, who survived him; not to mention a filagree brazier, some chests, and a multitude of vessels, candlesticks, lamps, shrines, &c. &c. of silver likewise. Marble and granite in profusion. What plunder NEBUCHADNEZZAR took away first, or TITUS at the last, from the temple at JERUSALEM, I know not; but I am sure there is enough here. The revenues of this archbishopric are well known to be the greatest of the ecclesiastical sort in SPAIN, and are, as well as I can learn, above 30,000 pounds a year. But the present archbishop has not himself the whole revenue; for since the resignation of the Infant Don LUIS, the Infant has reserved to himself the yearly appointment of 60,000 ducats, or about 7400 l. sterling. This prelate likewise ranks very high as a civil or state-officer, being primate, chancellor of CASTILE, and privy-counsellor. Mr. AP-RICE, I remember, mentions there being 10,000 weavers in silk and cloth in that city only: but, to say the truth, that gentleman's accounts, with regard to this country, are very erroneous; and as to the manufactures of SPAIN in general, they are all now in a declining condition.—But give me leave here to make one remark upon the wealth that is so uselessly locked up in the several churches of these kingdoms; those dormant riches, which a mistaken piety has so absurdly set apart forever; which answer no rational purpose, and which neither serve to the glory of God, nor the good of man: Mr. MACANAS, who had been Plenipotentiary at BREDA, proposed to PHILIP V's ministers some plans for making this

stagnate wealth circulate a little, and become of some use; but the proposals were not accepted by the court; and this man had the fate so common to genius in this country: His parts raised him envy and enemies at court, and in the end he was banished entirely, and confined to CORUNNA, where he died. His *Political Testament* is a great curiosity; but I could never get sight of it. And since his time another gentleman designs laying some proposals of the same sort and tendency before the present ministers. These may possibly meet with a more favourable reception: for as the present King has just now had spirit enough to confine the inquisitor-general, and banish him to a great distance; a bolder stroke than any of his predecessors ever dared to attempt! he certainly need not fear to put any measures in execution, which he judges to be expedient.—But to return to TOLEDO.

THE *Alcassar*, or Palace, built by CHARLES V. as some say, or, as others, by the Archduke CHARLES, is a noble building; though it is now almost a ruin, being burnt by the Allies and Austrian party, in the partition or succession-war, lest it should fall into the hands of PHILIP V. Who would ever conceive, that this very PHILIP should have afterwards desired an alliance with the burner of his own palace, and the competitor for his throne? It was such a counsel as no one but a RIPPERDA could suggest, or indeed execute: yet such was the *VIENNA-Treaty*! But I forget TOLEDO. The manufactory for *swords* is just revived there, and their goodness is solely owing to the confluence of the XARAMA and the TAGUS: for those two rivers have been tried separately, by way of experiment, by the King's order, and their disunited waters will not give that *trempe*. This manufactory is all worked by English tools, which came into the hands of the Spaniards very oddly: The story, as I was told it, runs thus;—About twenty years ago, a set of English workmen came upon contract to TOLEDO, to make such works, or engines, as were necessary for throwing the water of the river up the rock into the town: for at present it is brought by asses, each ass carrying six earthen pitchers burthen, as indeed is the general custom throughout SPAIN: These English contractors brought with them all sorts of English instruments and tools necessary for such a work, and some very large

large iron pipes. The undertaking certainly was difficult ; but foreigners professing and endeavouring to execute such a work, as the *Spaniards* owned themselves unequal to ; and then these being *English Heretics*, all these circumstances soon raised the envy and jealousy of the people : In short, from their opposition, and their endeavours to counteract every step the English undertook, the whole project and design came to nothing. But here my story begins to grow dark ; for the conclusion is, that these English all died, and as there was no heir to claim their effects, they were kept *as goods without an owner* ; and what remains of these tools and effects are now in the hands of the King of SPAIN, and employed in the old, but just-revived *Sword-Fabric* of TOLEDO.

BUT give me leave here to make one or two remarks.—
The effects and goods of these unfortunate contractors amounted at least to above 1000l. What! were they and their servants all so absolutely swept away, that no one should remain as heir, claimer, or inheritor of these effects? Had they no friends, or even relations left in ENGLAND? Was there no resident, or ambassador then in SPAIN, to apply to for the removal of these goods, or at least for the sale of them? All these circumstances seem to me so improbable, that I am at a loss what to say, or what to conjecture : And the whole, I think, that can be said, is, that it is really a very blind story.

BUT to return to TOLEDO ; the city, like that of SEGOVIA, is built upon a rocky mountain ; but you must remember at the same time that it was built by the Goths or the Moors. I take particular notice of this circumstance for two reasons ; first, because it is evident, that a principle of fear, and self-defence, drove those people into such marvellous situations : And secondly, Because a Spaniard would never have been industrious enough to have carried so much weighty and bulky materials up so high, and into such impregnable and almost inaccessible strongholds. For you can neither get in or out of those cities, without passing a descent or ascent of immense length, and all in zigzags, just like lines of circumvallation. The gates and portcullis's, like some of the *Saxon*

I have

I have seen in ENGLAND, or *Norman*, never face the street, but are all in oblique positions. The streets of TOLEDO are remarkably narrow, but those of SEGOVIA much broader, and the walls of immense height, with turrets all round.

THERE is indeed one very great curiosity at TOLEDO, not yet mentioned, which is an *original Hebrew Temple*, and it certainly is a fine remain; but here, to my sorrow, the piety of the Spaniard in converting this temple from Judaism to Christianity, or rather to Popery, has taken away much matter of entertainment to the antiquarians. The antient divisions, or *cancellæ*, were all taken down; the *sanctum sanctorum*, and even the *tabernacle* itself was here literally done away. There was likewise above a separate *tribune* for the women, as I remember there had been at St. CROSS at WINCHESTER; and the walls, which are covered with the finest Hebrew characters in the world, I believe; written all over with the *Psalms in Hebrew*; these the good Spaniard had very zealously plaistered over with untempered mortar. (Whether or no this temple will furnish arguments for or against Bishop HARE or Dr. LOWTH; whether it will determine any thing relating to the metre, the points, the vowels; or whether it will support any *Hutchinsonian* nonsense; all these things must be left to another time, and in the interim I shall go on with my tale.)

THERE were now no longer any traces or appearance of aught that ever had been *Jewish*, as much as if TITUS, or the Inquisitor-General had been visitors; and so this temple stood for many years: There was nothing but a vague and vulgar tradition remaining, to prove that it ever had been Jewish, and was now wearing the *San-Benito*. But fortunately for the antiquarians, a canon and treasurer of the church of TOLEDO, whose name is DON PEREZ BAYER, being a man of parts and learning, and having a particular turn for Hebrew, as one would think indeed from his name: This gentleman, I say, happily observing, that in some places where the plaister had fallen off, *Hebrew letters* might be traced, he had spirit enough instantly to set about the displaistering the inside of the temple, and has since very accurately and carefully copied the whole into a book, taken drawings and a section of the

building, and explained all with a learned and elegant dissertation: This book, you must know, he cannot well publish in SPAIN; Spanish writers lie under disagreeable restraints in that particular. UGOLINUS, the great collector of Hebrew antiquities, would fain have begged it of him, but he refused: I offered to publish it in ENGLAND for him, if he would let me; but he said he had not finished it, and would at least put the last hand to it, before he ever thought of printing.

THERE are, I am told, near the city of TOLEDO, some remains of a *Circus* and *Amphitheatre*, which are *Roman*, but at present one may almost say,

— *etiam hæc perire ruinæ.*

As I had but an indifferent *Ciceroni*, these I did not see. Nor, which I am sorry for, the very curious *library* which belongs to the *cathedral*, replete with invaluable treasures. But as one frankly owned to me, they do not much care to shew their library, and less to print a catalogue of what it contains; lest they should disclose how rich they are: politically apprehending, perhaps not without reason, that if others were let into the secret, they might possibly like to have a greater share in those treasures, than would be agreeable.

THERE is also an hospital for the *French disease* only, which will easily tell you the prevalence and malignance of that distemper in this country. This is more owing to their want of neatness, and their ignorance in physic and chirurgery, than to any other cause. I remember the King's physician told me, that it had been observed, that patients infected with this disease, if they came from a colder climate, were easily cured here; but if they went from hence infected into a colder climate, that they seldom or ever could be cured. There is an hospital also for *foundlings*, where the children seem to be well taken care of.

I DO not remember any thing more worth observing with regard to TOLEDO, than that they had hung on the wall of one of their convents a vast number of fetters, which were taken when they released some christian captives from the MOORS. The fetters are indeed monstrously large, and of inhuman weight: such is Eastern cruelty! They were taken at the conquest of GRANADA.

L E T T E R

L E T T E R X.

Description of the City of S E G O V I A.

HAVING just given a description of T O L E D O, I shall now give an account of S E G O V I A, for though the two cities are at such a distance from each other, they have some resemblance in common, and may serve as companions, like two pictures, to each other.

T H E site of the city has something of a very martial air, built upon a high rude rock ; by which means most of the entrances to it are steep, and disagreeable, especially as you are obliged to make several zigzag-windings before you can gain the summit : It is entirely surrounded with a lofty old Moorish wall, with battlements and turrets, in the stile of the fortifications of those days ; which indeed were almost impregnable. There are several *Roman inscriptions* in the walls ; some too high ever to be read, others turned wrong side upwards, others defaced, and some with the inscription turned inwards : For as the M O O R S considered these only as meer stones to build with, it is no wonder to find them in such strange positions. I copied one or two of them of no moment, but however they serve me as proofs to make out one point, which I shall speak to hereafter. On the *castle* or palace-side of the town is a deep, natural foss, formed by two contiguous ridges of mountain ; on the northern side a small river runs at the foot of the rock ; which serves to little other use, but to turn a large paper-mill, where they make great quantities of an ordinary

coarse paper. The next advantage they draw from this river, is the washing themselves and their linen; which last is performed in SPAIN in the following manner, however it may surprize a good ENGLISH housewife. The women carry all their linen down in great bundles to the side of this river; and having chose a good smooth stone, or sometimes a piece of wood, they kneel down, wet the linen, and then wring it and soap it; and then beat it upon the stone or wood, till they have got the dirt out of it. And this is all the operation; the chief inconvenience of which is, that the linen is apt to be beat to pieces, otherwise it is clean enough. *Ironing* is, I believe, but little used in this country; plaiting never; and the folding or smoothing the linen is most commonly done by the hand, or what we call the mangle, or calendar. In FRANCE, I am told, the linen is washed in the same manner, as may be seen on the banks of their rivers, and on those of the SEINE at PARIS, where the water is so muddy and yellow, as to leave a bad tinge upon the linen. I am informed by a friend, that at St. MALO and other sea-ports in BRITANNY and NORMANDY, the women take the opportunity of the tide's going out, to wash their linen in the sea-water left in the cavities or basons in the rocks; when having soaked, soaped and washed it, they lay it on the rock, and beat it with a kind of wooden battledore, which commonly pinks it full of holes.

BUT as to the river's being of much use to the city, by supplying it with water for all the domestic purposes of life: This you will easily imagine could not be the case, from the extreme height of the mountain; and, because they must constantly have brought it up with asses, as they do at TOLEDO. It was this inconvenience, and the desire of supplying the city more effectually, that gave rise to one of the noblest works, to one of the most magnificent fabrics of that sort possibly in the whole world: You will naturally guess, I mean, THE AQUEDUCT.

THE extent of this *Aqueduct* is said to be about three miles; at the eastern entrance of the town it begins with small arches gradually

gradually encreasing, and rising, till it expands into a double row of arches and pillars, and has then the noblest effect you can possibly conceive: Some of the first arches are a little more *pointed* than the rest (which are fairly circular) tho' not enough, I think, to be really called pointed arches. The people have built so many houses round this *Aqueduct*, it would grieve any true Antiquarian to the heart; since you are hindered from having so full and complete a view of it, as a whole, which every curious spectator would wish: The stone-pipes too, or ducts of water, fixed to the sides of it in some places, deface it much, and look rather like props; but they are certainly of the same age with the rest. With regard to the height, and other measures of this fabric, I was forced to take them myself: for as to the people, they neither know nor care how high it is, or how broad. Thus it fares with objects, which we see every day. Let them be ever so noble, or excellent, when they become familiar, they are neglected: It is the novelty that strikes, and not the excellence. This is not peculiar to these people, but is the case of all: let an Englishman never have seen the sea before, and I will warrant for his admiration and surprize; though if you ask a peasant about it near BRIGHTHELMSTONE, he will tell you, "He don't see any thing very extraordinary in it."—Upon enquiring about the *Aqueduct*, some said it was 108 feet high, and that the number of arches was 150; others 144 feet, and 177 arches. The reason of this difference is, that as the arches must be of unequal heights, to maintain a *level*, they have measured from different stations: This indeed accounts for the difference of the measures, but not for the number of the arches: How that happened I cannot say. The following measures I can answer for, since I took them upon the spot with my own hands. Its greatest height is exactly 101 feet, and 1 inch; for I took the measure from the highest trace of stone.

The breadth of the front of the pillars, 6 feet, 2 inches;

The depth of them, 11 feet, 3 inches;

The width of the arches, 12 feet, 7 inches, and one quarter.

As to the number of the arches, we counted them, and we could reckon only 118 to the city-wall from the first visible arch;
and

and seven more arches within the walls ; in all 125 : But then, where the arches were double, that is, placed one over another, we did not count those, as two arches, but as single : Because in conveying an idea of this *Aqueduct* to one who had never seen it, we judged, that a stranger would always form his notion of the length of this *Aqueduct* by the number of arches continued in length. Again, as to the measures, except that of the height, they are only true with regard to that particular part, arch, or pillar, which I measured at that time : For I measured several others since, and find their dimensions differ widely from one another, so that there is no one general proportion, which runs through the whole structure. The reason of which I take to be, that where they were obliged to make the *Aqueduct* higher, in order to preserve the level ; that there they were obliged to enlarge the proportions, and increased the base in proportion to the height of the pillar ; and consequently contracted the arches, in order to make the building more stable. It seems to be built without any *cement*, and the stones are about *three feet* long, and *two feet* thick ; all roughly hewn, and with the edges rounded, not sharp. Why the SPANISH writers chuse to call this *the Bridge of SEGOVIA*, and not *the Aqueduct*, is a solecism I cannot account for : But this is the language of MARIANA, PINEDA, and many others. A Spaniard being asked, why he called it *The PUENTE DE SEGOVIA*, answered, *because it was a bridge* ; for though it was not indeed a bridge for people to walk over, yet it was a bridge for water to go over. And perhaps this may be their reason, though it certainly is a very odd one. Old Spanish writers call it PUENTE SECA, which is stranger still ; for sure no one can say with any propriety, that an *Aqueduct* is a *Dry Bridge*.

HAVING now given a description of this truly magnificent structure ; the next enquiry is, *who* was the author ? and *when* it was built ? I think, there are but three or four opinions about it. MARIANA, according to his usual modesty, is in suspense ; and doubts whether it is to be attributed to the Emperor TRAJAN, or to LICINIUS LARIUS, who was prætor in SPAIN, under VESPASIAN, and a friend of PLINY the elder. Father HENRY
FLORES,

FLORES, who is vain enough himself, and willing in all things to gratify the vanity of his countrymen, attributes it to the GOTHs, who, as they lived here once, were for that time a sort of SPANIARDS: COLMENARES, the writer of the history of SEGOVIA, goes many lengths indeed; and in order to make his native city, SEGOVIA, as old as possible, tells us at once, that the aqueduct was built by HERCULES. HERCULES certainly did great wonders; but I believe built few aqueducts: and if it must be the work of some strong man, he might as well have called in SAMPSON. As to the GOTHs, tho' it is certain they raised very noble fabrics wherever they went, and, as it were, built themselves into fame; yet I cannot give them this aqueduct, for many reasons. The *Gothic structures* in general appear to me to have this character; that though they are for the most part noble by their being so very large, yet they are generally clumsy and heavy, and the *old Gothic* particularly so: You seldom see any thing light, elegant, or of a good taste, except in the *modern Gothic*; all which circumstances are remarkably conspicuous in *this Aqueduct*. The *Gothic* indeed will last for ages, and so will the *Roman*, without one half of their heavy stability. I am therefore, upon the whole, inclined to think this aqueduct undoubtedly *Roman* *. For though I grant to COLMENARES, that there is nothing now visible upon the aqueduct itself, no remains of *an inscription*, no traces left to decide this question; let the order too, if he will have it so, be either Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, or Composite: And tho' it be true, that the *Romans*, when they executed such great works as these, generally took sufficient care to secure their *title* to it, and their *name* upon it: Yet all these arguments and objections do not weigh with me: I am where I was; I think it *Roman*. There is something in the grandeur of the *Roman* works, that still *speaks* for them, though their usual witnesses should happen to be lost: a greatness, that no other nation has attempted, or ever been able to equal. There is no inscription remaining now, nor is there much appearance, that there

* The first 13 arches are certainly Roman; the 36 next in sequence are clearly of another stile, of a much inferior workmanship, and have been repaired by the *Spaniards* or *Goths*: for the stile will agree with either. But at the 49th arch the *Roman master-hand* appears again; the same form of stone, large, round-edged, and exactly in the same taste with the 13 first arches.

ever was one: What then? is this negative a sufficient proof that there never was one? The Roman inscriptions so frequent about the walls of this town sufficiently shew their footsteps at SEGOVIA, to this day: there might have been an inscription, but now defaced or destroyed by ignorance, superstition, time, and the turbulence of the age, when SPAIN successively received so many masters. These inscriptions are still legible to this day: SEXTO· LIC· MIL· near the gate of St. JUAN. Another is

M·	IVN	Æ·	FI
	ETIS	CAES	
N	Q	F	ANN
LV·	S·	T·	T·L·

Another near the gate of SAN ANDRES, thus:

P V B L I C I O
I V V E N A L I
I V V E N A L I S

COLMENARES upon this says, that JUVENAL was not born at AQUINUM, but SEGOVIA; for how could MARTIAL, who was a *Spaniard*, otherwise call him *Juvenali meo*?

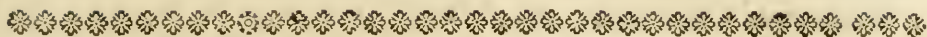
AFTER having given some account why I think it a Roman work, I shall now search after the *Author*. The reason why it has been ascribed to the Emperor TRAJAN, is, because that prince has left so many noble monuments of his own erecting in SPAIN, particularly in ESTREMADURA and ANDALUSIA; that, forsooth, every Roman work that the *Spaniards* find any where, must immediately be ascribed to TRAJAN! This, indeed, is natural; for the *Spaniards* still revere his memory, and they have a very remarkable proverb, which says, *Felicidad de Augusto, y Bondad de Trajano*: that is, *The happiness of Augustus, and the goodness of Trajan*. But I have one objection to its being the work of that great emperor: that

he was a native of *Italica*, or OLD SEVILLE, by birth an Andalusian: and I cannot help thinking, that if he had intended a work of so much expence and magnificence in SPAIN, he would never have given the benefit of it to the inhabitants of OLD CASTILE. But here I am sensible, that I am unawares drawn into a controversy, and shall presently raise all the Castilians to a man against me. For it seems these gentlemen will have it, that the Emperor TRAJAN was an *Estremaduran* by birth, and not an *Andalusian*. Well then, let us weigh the authorities on both sides, and see how that matter stands. XIMENES, and other compilers of the *Historia general de España*, MARINEUS SICULUS, PEDRO DE MEDINA, JUAN SEDENO, and others say, that TRAJAN was born at PEDRAÇA DE ESTREMADURA, or PEDRAÇA DE LA SIERRA, so called, because it joined to the mountains, and to distinguish it from that in the plains, which was likewise called ITALICA. To this they add the constant tradition of this Estremadurian village, which says to this day, that TRAJAN was born there, and they shew travellers the site of the house he was born in: and they give this as another proof, that the villagers say, his mother was OREJANA, or OREJANILLA, which was romanized afterwards into AURELIANA. To all this they join the blunders of the partial ZOZIMUS, ἔλεξε τὸν ἴσον ἑαυτῷ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ Θεοδοσίον, τῇ γενέσει Ἑσπᾶνῳ ἐν πόλει Κόκα τῆς Γαλιτίας. and the dreams of some Spanish bishop. This is one side of the question, and is at the same time a specimen of Spanish learning. Now on the other side. DION CASSIUS, AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, AURELIUS VICTOR, and EUTROPIUS all affirm, that the Emperor TRAJAN was a native of the *Andalusian Italica*, or OLD SEVILLE. *Amm. Marc. Theodosius Hispanus Italicæ Divi Trajani Civitatis*. The words of VICTOR are to much the same purpose. It is clear, however, I think, that THEODOSIUS was no Estremadurian, whatever TRAJAN might be; and as to ZOZIMUS, he makes him a poor Gallician. All the remark I shall make upon this controversy is, that TRAJAN's being an Estremadurian would suit well enough with the public works he raised in that province, but it will not bring him so far as SEGOVIA into OLD CASTILE.

UPON the whole, then, I am induced to think, that this aqueduct was the work of LICINIUS LARIUS, the Prætor under VESPA-

SIAN: for TRAJAN had need have been a master-builder all his life-time, if we ascribe every thing to him. But then it is said, that if LICINIUS LARIUS built the aqueduct, that his friend PLINY would certainly have mentioned it. I do not think this a certain objection; a probable one, I own, it is. But be that as it will, it is as certain, that there is an *Inscription* extant in AMBROSIO MORALES, the famous old Spanish antiquarian, which is published by ADOLPHUS OCCO, and shews, *That Licinius Larius really did build the Aqueduct of Segovia*. They may say, perhaps, that this inscription is a false one: It may be so, for ought I know to the contrary, as I have never been able to see MORALES, or OCCO's book, or to copy the inscription *. I shall now take my leave of the aqueduct, adding only, that I am told the cement is lead, and that the key-stones are tied with iron; and that between the two highest arches, or the *Açoguejo*, as they call it, there are two niches remaining, which plainly contained formerly the statues of the emperor and the lieutenant, or prætor, under whom this aqueduct was erected: but now they are very piously filled up with the statues of those, who might possibly work miracles, but I am sure never brought water in so noble a manner to any city in this world; I mean two saints.

* You will find it in Don G. MAYANS's Latin Epistle, annexed to this account.



Ad CL. PATREM
HENRICUM FLOREZIUM,
HISPANIÆ SANCTÆ SCRIPTOREM,

*Ab Opinione suâ & Judicio de Aquæductu Segoviensi dissentiens
Poeta.*

*Pyramidum moles cessare; Segovia pontem
Ducendis veteri numine jactat aquis:
Trajanus fucrit, fueritve Licinius autor,
Haud sua Lucifero lympa jubente fuit:
Nec tamen Alcidi dederim, Maurove, Getifve,
Hoc tantum Hispano vix licet esse decus:
Maeste animi FLOREZE! sed hæc monimenta per orbem
Non nisi Cæsareæ sic posuere manus.*

Translation of FATHER HENRY FLOREZ's Account
of the AQUEDUCT of SEGOVIA.

(Taken from his Espana Sagrada, Vol. VIII.)

‘ SEGOVIA is one of the most antient cities of SPAIN, not
‘ so much as appears by the name, and the mention which
‘ historians and geographers make of it, as by the remarkable mo-
‘ nument of the *Aqueduct*, which shews such notable antiquity,
‘ that it is not easy to determine its origin precisely. Some ascribe
‘ it to HERCULES, others to the Emperor TRAJAN, and still no
‘ inconsiderable part of the common people judge it to have been
‘ built by the DEVIL.

‘ THIS very variety of opinions is a proof, that we know no-
‘ thing certain about it. As for ascribing it to HERCULES, we

‘ do not discover any other foundation, than the knowledge, that
 ‘ a statue of HERCULES was formerly placed in the niche, where
 ‘ now is the image of St. SEBASTIAN: no stress ought to be laid
 ‘ upon this fact, which only proves, that in the times of paganism
 ‘ the antient Spaniards might dedicate that work to the memory
 ‘ of HERCULES.

‘ As to what relates to TRAJAN, it is very difficult to acknow-
 ‘ ledge him for the author, because there is no trace left of a Ro-
 ‘ man inscription on it, and that in a work of such great length,
 ‘ and so well preserved; we knowing, on the other hand, the taste
 ‘ which prevailed in the works of that emperor, viz. to leave his
 ‘ name perpetuated upon them. Consequently one called them
 ‘ *yerba parietaria* ||. And on the bridge of ALCANTARA in SPAIN,
 ‘ consisting of six arches, they placed divers inscriptions, in which
 ‘ his name is repeated in each. Besides, not having any account of
 ‘ the Romans being concerned in the aqueduct of SEGOVIA, we
 ‘ have no grounds to ascribe it to TRAJAN, or to any other em-
 ‘ peror, unless it be thought sufficient to produce other works of the
 ‘ same age, which have a similar stile. But they differ either in the
 ‘ manner of joining the stones together; or it will be difficult to
 ‘ contradict that which the Romans have said of these, and other
 ‘ very antient works, such as the Pyramids of ÆGYPT; concern-
 ‘ ing which COLMENARES writes, c. i. § II. of *The history of Se-*
 ‘ *govia*, that they very much resembled the fabric of this aqueduct,
 ‘ according to the descriptions which they have given of the work-
 ‘ manship of them, of the greatness of the hewn stones, and un-
 ‘ hewn stones. COLMENARES too adds no bad remark, that the
 ‘ stile or order of architecture of the Segovian aqueduct is different
 ‘ from that used by the Romans, since it is neither of the Doric,
 ‘ Ionic, Corinthian, Tuscan, or Composite orders, but of some other
 ‘ not known; insomuch that we have some grounds not to ac-
 ‘ knowledge it for a Roman work, but of a much older date.

‘ Of this argument drawn from the stile of the architecture, the
 ‘ public has not been able to judge, insomuch as no one has been
 ‘ bold enough to engrave it. COLMENARES was deterred by the

|| It should be *verba parietaria*; that is, *palabras paredanas*, or wall-words.

‘ greatness.

' greatness of the attempt, as he expresses it in the place I have
 ' quoted. The celebrated Father MONTFAUCON in the IV.
 ' Tome, P. ii. Ch. 10. of his *Antiquité expliquée*, complained, that
 ' he was not able to procure a design of it: But afterwards in the
 ' IV. Tome of the *Supplement*, page 102, he says that M. LE GEN-
 ' DRE, surgeon to his Catholic Majesty, sent it him, with a descrip-
 ' tion of it in Spanish, of which that father availed himself. But
 ' the *design* which was sent to Father MONTFAUCON consisted on-
 ' ly of ten arches, without any measure or scale, without the due
 ' proportion between the arches, omitting the under-cornishes of
 ' the pillars, and failing in the proportion of the upper arches with
 ' the lower, without regulating it to the form of the dye of the
 ' pedestal, nor to the lower line, which is not right in more than
 ' the three central arches: and he adds, in the upper part of the
 ' pillar, which is in the middle of the greatest height, an head of a
 ' woman between two flowers, with this inscription at the bottom,
 ' * CABEZA DE ESTREMADVRA; which is not so, because
 ' upon the canal, through which the water runs, that figure is not
 ' to be seen.

' We here give the whole delineation of it with exactness, by
 ' means of Don JUAN SAENZ DE BURUAGA, an ALCALA DE HE-
 ' NARES Doctor, of the greater college of SAN ILDEFONSO, Ma-
 ' gistrate of the holy church of SEGOVIA; of whom I availed my-
 ' self, by reason of the friendship we contracted at the university of
 ' ALCALA, and he took that business so much to his own account,
 ' that in a little time after I had applied to him, he favoured me
 ' with the utmost dispatch; having associated to himself, for this
 ' end, a person very able and knowing, who is architect of that holy
 ' church, and is called Don DOMINGO GAMONES, whose name is
 ' worthy to be perpetuated, for having given us that which no other
 ' has done, without seeking any other interest, but that of serving
 ' the public: and although we know not the name of the first ar-
 ' chitect, we know that of the first who ever attempted to draw
 ' this fabric.

' THIS great aqueduct is called a *bridge* vulgarly, its intention
 ' being contrary to the use of such like fabrics: for whereas they

* Or, *The Head of Estremadura.*

are designed to give passage to people over the waters, this is to conduct the waters over the people, leaving free passage below. The water comes by means of some arches of stone, which sustain a canal formed of the same stones in conformity to its passage. That as in all other bridges, people walk upon a pavement laid upon the superficies of the convex part of the arches; and as in those the ground and the parapet walls serve for the cover and security of the passengers: In this, both the one and the other are designed for the course only, and the direction of the waters.

THE motive for so great an undertaking was, that seeing on one hand, that in the site of the city, nature afforded a soil very well disposed to build a town, and very suitable to the genius of the antient inhabitants: That it had the due elevation which they wanted, for the ventilation of the air; and also that it was able to resist any invasion. They reduced the site to a great rock, or mountain sufficiently scarped, and able to contain a city not very large, but fortified by nature, which raised the ground above some plains, watered by different streams, which flow from the *Cumbræ Capitanæ* (the name which PLINY gives to some branches of the IDUBEDA, called to this day *Puerto de la Fon-fria*,* *y de Guadarrama*.) Towards the north runs the river ERESMA, which springs from some fountains on the other side of the said pass in the mountains, and goes by COCA to fall into the DUERO.

SOME will have it, that the ERESMA is the *Areva*, of which PLINY affirms, that the name came from the region of the *Arevaci*. But we have nothing to add to the proposal against what is said of the *Arevaci* in tom. V. The Marquis of MONDEJAR, concerned in some things very strange about SEGOVIA, in the II. tome of his *Dissertations*, p. 218, thinks, that *Areva* is a little river, which falls into the DUERO near the antient *Numantia*, called at present *Tera*. But that cannot be the case, considering that the spring of the DUERO, and the same *Numantia* were the *Pelendones* of PLINY. And for the same reason, the river that

* Or, *The Port of Fon-fria, and of Guadarrama*.—This is a pass in the mountains; all such *Passes* being called by the Spaniards *Ports*.

' waters *Numantia* must be of the same country. Besides which,
 ' it is so very short in its course, and so little known, that it could
 ' not give a name to so famous a people.

' By the plain to the south of SEGOVIA there runs another
 ' short stream, called by the peasants *Clamores*, which joins the
 ' ERRESMA at the West point of the city, where the ALÇASSAR
 ' stands.

' NOTWITHSTANDING the streams which run by the vallies
 ' of the city, the ancients desired, that there should be no want
 ' of water to the inhabitants within the walls, nevertheless that the
 ' earth was not commodious for fountains, on account of its height
 ' and dryness: With this view, they undertook the giant-like work,
 ' to convey a river within the city, conquering by art the impedi-
 ' ments which nature had opposed to it, by reason of the height
 ' and depth of the ground: although the architect plainly shewed,
 ' that he was master of a greater height, if it had been necessary,
 ' since he made the water pass above the walls and roofs of
 ' the houses.

' THE source of this aqueduct is a little river, called RIO FRIO,
 ' which rises at the skirts of the pass in the mountains, and is that
 ' which comes to the city, taking from its flock as much water,
 ' as would fill a duct that would contain a human body: It is re-
 ' ceived in an arch of stone at the distance of 500 paces from the
 ' city: and from thence it begins to run in the channel of the
 ' aqueduct, which does not require more elevation than $5\frac{2}{3}$ bars,
 ' that is, 17 feet. By little and little the height increases, as it
 ' comes to deeper ground, but without requiring more than one
 ' range of arches, until the water has passed over 65 arches, where
 ' the arches have a height of 39 feet, close to the convent of SAN
 ' FRANCISO. There they begin to wind from the east to the west,
 ' requiring two ranges of arches, one arch being put upon the other.
 ' That being the lowest part of the valley which is the little square,
 ' now called AZOGUEJO.

' IN that part the aqueduct is 102 feet high, the channel en-
 ' tering by the battlements of the walls, with an extreme elevation
 ' from

‘ from the ground to the top of the arch. The aqueduct goes
 ‘ through the middle of the city, from the east to the west, with
 ‘ an arched duct so large, that a man might walk in it : And from
 ‘ thence it goes dividing itself into the public fountains, and the
 ‘ cisterns of convents and private houses.

‘ THIS fabric consists of 161 arches. The materials are hewn
 ‘ stones of a bluish granate, placed one upon the other, without
 ‘ any coherence of bitumen, lime, or mortar, which equals the
 ‘ joints, because the stones unite one with another, fastening them-
 ‘ selves in their square form ; so that the whole number of the
 ‘ stones of which this aqueduct consists, might be counted, accord-
 ‘ ing to the art and correspondence with which they are placed.
 ‘ Look at them, says COLMENARES, and they seem to be cemented
 ‘ by lead, and that the key-stones of the arches were barred by iron,
 ‘ as they tell us of the temple of SERAPIS in ALEXANDRIA.
 ‘ The pillars are eight feet in front, and eleven broad. It being
 ‘ most astonishing, that this fabric should last to the end of so
 ‘ many ages, such as we see it, without giving way to the weight
 ‘ of the water upon it, or to the rains, the floods, the wars : for
 ‘ it not only appears, that nations have revered it, but even time,
 ‘ which does not use to respect other wonders of the world.

‘ UPON the top of the three pillars of the greatest height there
 ‘ is a base common to the three uppermost. And in that of the
 ‘ middlemost there are on each side two niches, where were the
 ‘ statues of HERCULES, as COLMENARES says he found in manu-
 ‘ scripts, which in his time were above 200 years old, that is be-
 ‘ fore the middle of the XVth century, in which then existed these
 ‘ monuments. At present they are the images of our Lady of SAN
 ‘ SEBASTIAN, because that part belongs to the district of the pa-
 ‘ rish of that saint, and they were placed there March 21, 1520,
 ‘ by the care of a citizen, an assayer of the mint, as COLMENA-
 ‘ RES tells us, in his history of that year.

‘ BESIDES this testimony, which is the most authentic of the an-
 ‘ tiquity of the city, there is mention made of it in LUCIUS FLORUS,
 ‘ where he is relating the war of SERTORIUS, lib. 3. ch. 22. where
 ‘ he says, *that the Herculean lieutenants of Sertorius were defeated*

' near Segovia, without adding any more interesting particulars.
 ' *His apud Segoviam oppressis, &c.* This was about the year 675
 ' of the foundation of ROME, in which POMPEY came against
 ' SERTORIUS, following Grævius's *chronology upon Florus*, which
 ' answers in our way of reckoning to the 79th year before Christ,
 ' taking the vulgar æra for an epoch.

' PLINY, in telling us who the several people were, who form-
 ' ed the assembly of CLUNIA, says, that one were the people of
 ' SEGOVIA among the *Arevaci*. HARDUIN, in the notes to c.
 ' iii. lib. 3. of that author, will not have it to be the SEGOVIA
 ' situated between VALLADOLID and MADRID (of which we are
 ' now speaking) but another small town, placed by PTOLEMY in the
 ' same site with NUMANTIA : *Non ea est, quæ inter Vallisoletum &*
 ' *Madritum nobis Segovia dicitur : sed altera ejusdem nominis urbecula,*
 ' *quæ sub eâdem fere cæli parte atque ipsâ Numantia, eodemque situ a*
 ' *Ptolomeo collocatur.* But if one denies this, it would be very
 ' difficult for any one to prove it : for we may just as well say,
 ' that PLINY means the city of which we are speaking, and not
 ' that designed by HARDOUIN, for he owns that to be an *urbecula*.
 ' And it is more natural, that PLINY should mention that which
 ' was the most great and famous (in case there were two of the
 ' same name among the *Arevaci*) and not the least illustrious, to-
 ' tally omitting the greatest.

' I SAID in case there were *two in the Arevaci* ; because neither
 ' PLINY, PTOLEMY, or ANTONINE mention more than *one* in
 ' that territory : And as there were no more than one, we ought
 ' not to say, that PLINY and PTOLEMY mentioned the least illu-
 ' strious, and omitted the most famous mentioned by ANTO-
 ' NINE. It is clear that PTOLEMY places SEGUBIA in a site that
 ' does not square with SEGOVIA, about 42 degrees of latitude,
 ' and $13\frac{1}{2}$ of longitude. But it is as certain, that if you take his site
 ' in reference to the direct distance, which there is between that
 ' and NUMANTIA, it will be one of the many errors of his tables ;
 ' because they place SEGUBIA and NUMANTIA in $13\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of
 ' longitude.'

THE ALCAÇAR, or Royal Palace, is the next object here of note ; it is plain by the AL in the first syllable of this word, that it is an *Arabic* appellation ; for it is the *Arabic* article, which they call *Solar* : And the tradition of the town says, it was a place of residence for some of the *Moorish* princes. I know not what truth there may be in it, but I cannot help attempting an etymology, especially when the occasion seems so fair. Thus Cæsar, *Καισαρ*, Moorish CAYZAR, ALCAÇAR. The front of this building is about fifty feet long ; there are two conic, or sugar loaf-turrets, at each wing ; and the façade is adorned with several diminutive turrets in the same taste and style : Above the skilling or span-roof of this first front there rises another skilling roof adorned with turrets in the same style : And between the wings, in the middle rises a lofty square, brick tower, surrounded with small circular turrets ending in a console. Along the front of the first building runs a neat, small open gallery, just under the cornish. The whole of the fabric appears clearly to be in *the old Moorish style* ; the governor told me the middle tower was *Roman*, but I should doubt it much ; it seems to be of the same age and building with the rest of the fabric ; the windows of the same form and taste ; and there is a trace of small beads, that girts it, just as in the front and the wings : It is certainly all *Moorish*, and is indeed extremely pretty, and light, and pleases me more than almost any building I ever saw. The whole, except the middle tower, is covered with a blue slate, or shingles, I cannot say which. You go to it from a sort of court, or place, over a small bridge ; for there is a deep foss, that surrounds one part of it, and the other sides are defended by steep precipices, as it stands upon a rock. Having passed the bridge you enter a cloyster, where there is a court within, and a fountain. From the cloyster you enter a large room prettily cieled, a sort of servant's hall. After that you come into a slate-room, with a rich gilt cieeling, carving of stucco upon the walls, and *Dutch* tiling round the room at the bottom. This brings you to a second apartment of much the same taste, but a much richer cieeling ; then you enter a magnificent room called the *Sala de los Reyes*, or, *The hall of their Kings* ; and with reason, for it really is full of Kings. The wooden or waxen images of nineteen Kings of CASTILE, six of LEON, two
of

of ASTURIAS, and sixteen of OVIEDO, are all placed over your head, about the middle of the wall, round the room, with their Queens, and four counts, or dukes placed under them. Among them is the famous CID, or Don ROD. DIAZ de BIVAR, of whom such wonders have been recorded: CID, in *Arabic*, is *commander*, or general; he lived about 1055, in the reign of FERDINAND of LEON. This room is indeed an odd sight, and if one was to be there late at night, with a single taper, it would afford matter for a warm imagination to be very busy. From thence you pass into a small chapel, where there is a single painting over the altar with this inscription, BARTOLOME CARDUCCIO *Florent.* faciebat, 1600. Beyond this is a small room with odd pieces of sculpture of dogs and hares, and other animals, and pretty carving in Fresco, or Stucco. Round this room, as well as the rest, runs an inscription in very old *Gothic* characters; but I am sure of no moment; for in the next room, where the letters were likewise *Gothic*, but not quite so old fashioned, I could read them with no great difficulty: And they proved to be nothing else, but prayers, and pious sentences: Thus, LAUDAM TE IN SECOLA SE-COLORUM. MAYERDE MEMENTO ME. ORA PRO NOBIS. UDAL AP RHYS has given a very false account of this place: He says there are sixteen rooms hung with fine tapestry, and that there are many pictures, with other circumstances, which have not one word of truth in them.—PHILIP II. in 1590, caused those dates and accounts, which are affixed to the feet of each prince in the *Sala de los Reyes*, to be put up; it is the best chronology they have of them.

HAVING now given some account of this singular fabric; indulge me in a word or two about the age of it. The governor said the rooms we saw were five hundred years old; this is nothing; it would only throw the date of this building as far back as the 13th century, or about 1260. I have seen a grant of AL-PHONSO in the year 1160, which mentions this ALCAÇAR. Is it not very strange, that the writer of *the History of SEGOVIA* should take no particular notice of this remarkable structure: He only says, that when in 755 the MOORS attacked SEGOVIA, and took it, the SEGOVIANS put *the ALCAÇAR*, the house

of HERCULES, and the tower of St. JUAN in a good posture of defence. This period of the eighth century seems to me to suit better with the name and appearance of the building, and to place it in a much more *Moorish* age; though it may possibly be still older. There is one *pointed arch* of a door-way in this building, which is now stopped up; it seems of the same age with the rest; but as it may have been an after-work, as it is not an essential part, what stress is to be laid upon it, I cannot say. Here are two strange old cannon, or pipes, *canones* they call them. And the doors of the offices are marked thus: *Bodega, Postgo*; that is, *the cellar, the passage*.

THIS is the famous *Tower or Castle of SEGOVIA*, so celebrated in Monsieur *Le Sage's Gil Blas*,^v and other romances; the antient receptacle of state-prisoners: It was here that political QUIXOTE the duke of RIPPERDA was confined; and it was from hence he escaped. There is another large prison in the middle of the city, but that is only for the reception of common felons, and is a modern building. The very same man that was governor, when RIPPERDA was confined there, is still alive, and the present governor: By his account it was the maid, not the daughter, that gave the duke his liberty; for his daughter is married to an ANDALUSIAN gentleman, and lives there: He says, that the room in which RIPPERDA was confined had but one door to it, and had two centinels placed at it; at the door of the next room two centinels more; and without the guard du corps. How he escaped, he says he cannot guess; but that the Duke's servant said his master was very ill; that another servant took his master's place in bed, and counterfeited a sick person; that he the governor knew nothing of his escape, *till nine days after he was gone*, and then they discovered the fraud. It is plain from all this relation, that the court had a mind to let RIPPERDA escape; that the governor had orders to connive at it; though the means and contrivance were probably the duke's invention: that the court did not care for the expence of keeping him in prison, and had no inclination to take away his life. When he found, that orders were given for seizing him in the year 1726, he fled to the house of Mr. STANHOPE, the then *English* ambassador. His lordship was at that
time

time not at home ; and it is inconceivable what difficulty he had at his return, to get RIPPERDA out of the house : He was at last taken out by force by the King of SPAIN's order. This, however, trifling as it was, occasioned a misunderstanding between the courts of SPAIN and GREAT BRITAIN. Mr. STANHOPE certainly did right ; he withdrew from MADRID, to shew his resentment, and to assert the just rights and privileges of his CHARACTER : for otherwise no prudent ambassador would have risked the embroiling himself with his court for the sake of protecting such a scoundrel. He was originally an envoy from the states of HOLLAND, afterwards minister to the court of SPAIN, being a creature of Cárdenal ALBERONI's, and was sent to negotiate the famous VIENNA treaty. To conclude, he betrayed his trust, made the grand tour of all religions ; fled from one court, could obtain protection from no other, could find no asylum in EUROPE : And after having been successively Protestant, Papist, Pagan, Jew, Turk, Infidel, and Heretic, weary of apostacies, he died at last a Mahometan among the states of BARBARY.

THE next object of note here is the CATHEDRAL, which is indeed a noble structure ; it is of the *Gothic* style of architecture, and rather of the best kind of it ; there are two quires, as it were surrounded by a most ample *Basilica*, which is lined on the wall-side with a vast variety of fine altars, and rich shrines : The painted glass is good, and gives the dim, religious light. They told me it was built 1525, see *The Hist. of Segovia*, ch. 39. The sacristy is a fine room, and contains some pictures. The arches of this building are all round. There is an old cloyster adjoining to the cathedral, where there is a monument of a bishop of this see, and his epitaph in good Latin, well-cut. There are some hundreds of vestments hung up here ; the badges of so many unhappy *Jews*, who had the misfortune to be burnt, because they did not believe all that the inquisitor did : This tribunal, or the Holy Office as they call it, was at SEGOVIA at that time, but has been since removed. There are too in this cloyster, the remains of sad superstitious paintings on the wall. In the chapter-room is a fine picture of a MADONNA and BAMBINO, by SPAGNOLET ; also the story of AURELIAN and ZENOBI, in
good

good tapestry. In the library is a MS. version of the PENTATEUCH, from the *Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek* into Latin, dated 1600. It is intitled *Versio Pentateuchi per Ciruelum Darocensem*.

THERE is a grant of Queen URRACA's in this cathedral in 1661, which mentions the *Alcazar*, and the *Pons Castellanus*, or bridge of the *Alcazar*. It concludes thus—"Whosoever shall violate this grant, let them be ever banished from God's threshold, and be eternally tormented with DATHAM and ABIRAM, whom the earth swallowed, be damned with the traitor JUDAS, and pay a thousand pounds of unallayed gold (*auri obryzi*) to the bishop."

THERE are several fine churches here besides the cathedral; that of ST. MILANO is very old; built by GONZALO FELIZ in 923. See *History of Segovia*, p. 83. I found an inscription on the wall: L : DCCC : AI : XXX : X : HQI. R. ↓ : H. Q. AR. ROI : S. K. C̄ . 2. There is another inscription on the other wall, on which there was MIL. I. CCC. XL. I. which I read 1341. The arches of this church are all round and large; the columns large and lofty, with carved capitals, containing many figures both of men and animals. Some with beautiful foliage; the shafts were round and plain; and placed upon square bases, extremely large: At the entrance is a sort of *Arcade* with beautiful, small columns of black marble, and the pillars joined one to another, with a sort of spiral or serpentine line, what the heralds, I think, call wavy.


THE church of ST. SEBASTIAN is a good room, not very large, the roof modern, built in 1699. There is a small nave adjoining, separated by three elliptical arches, the most ugly, disproportioned things you can imagine. What date they are of I know not; but certainly they are *Gothic*. There are two pillars remaining at the portal, as old as the *Moorish* times.

THE church of ST. FRANCIS is a fine large room, with a most beautiful organ; large and lofty arches, most of them round, but one or two *pointed*; the roof modern. On the left-hand is a small chapel with the oldest *Gothic*, or *Saxon* carved work;

the roof of it contains large beads, or mouldings: they projected 7 or 8 inches from the roof, and the arch over the door-way was composed of beads or tracery of stone in the same massy taste.

THE church of ST. MARTINI is a very old fabric, built before 1140. See *Hist. of Segovia*. At the west-end of it is the most lofty, round *Moorish* arch I ever saw, with a multitude of decreasing mouldings one within another; there is a pretty large arcade with very neat small columns of black marble.

THE church of ST. AUGUSTIN is a modern building, but a fine room, the arches round; some few good pictures, and a handsome sacristy.

THE church of ST. DOMINIC is a noble *Gothic* structure, built about 1406; beneath the cornish under the roof of the outside, all round the church, are cut in stone these words, in old characters, of what age I know not, but in this form . I shall write it for the sake of dispatch in the common characters TANTO·MONTA. The meaning of which is—When by the marriage of FERDINAND and ISABELLA the kingdoms were united, they made this old *Spanish* proverb---*Tanto monta, monta tanto Isabella como Fernando*---That is to say, *Isabel is as good as Ferdinand, and Ferdinand as Isabel*. The only remark I shall make is, that hence comes our *English* word *tantamount*. The inside is now modernized, the arches are round, a little more than 300 years old.

THE church of ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST is said here to be the *oldest* in the city, built in 923. See *Hist. of Seg.* p. 83. It consists of three naves, all large round arches of the *oldest Gothic*; and may be considered as one long room. Here is the tomb of the knights, who took MADRID in 932; and here the archives of the city are kept in a handsome chest; the date of which is 1686. The chief knight was FERNAN GARCIA de la TORRE; his tomb still remains in this church, which was formerly called from thence *the church of the knights*. The statues of both these knights are placed over a gate in MADRID, the print of which is in the history

tory of SEGOVIA. It is a pretty church, as well as a very old one ; there are several pictures, but I believe none valuable ; some good *Spanish* carving. Since the date of the taking MADRID by the knights, buried here, is 932 ; consequently *the pointed arch* at the west-end of this church ; the odd cornish composed of heads of animals ; the capitals of the pillars carved with animal, and human figures ; and the small, long, narrow lights, or windows, of this church, are all older than the tenth century : And consequently the *pointed arch* was used in this country, long before we had it in ENGLAND, which was not till 1216:

THE little church of ST. PAUL contains some remains of an extreme old building on the outside, but is quite modern within. Over an old *pointed arch* I found this date, the inscription of a tomb I. H. CCC. LXXII. that is, 1372 ; for the *Spaniards* always write their cypher to express *a thousand* in that way, why I know not. At the great altar is a picture of St. PAUL falling from his horse in his way to DAMASCUS. No traces of any other old arch here, but the roof is vaulted.

A CHURCH near the PLAZA MAYOR, date found in it 1569. The *Hist. of Segovia* mentions the churches of St. COLOMA and St. MEMES, or St. LUCIA, built in 923 ; but I know nothing of them. It is remarkable that there are more churches, convents, and parishes here, than at MADRID.

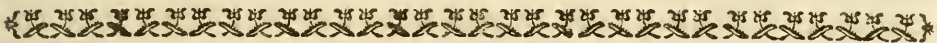
THE town, upon the whole, has a strange appearance ; the buildings look wild, and odd, raised sometimes upon the uneven and craggy parts of the rock without levelling it. Here are all sorts and styles of architecture ; *Roman, Gothic, Moorish, Saxon,* and *Spanish*.

THE PLAZA MAYOR is a very tolerable, irregular square ; but the buildings round it are in the old *Spanish* style, and look miserably. Though wood here is very dear, and scarce, and cracks with the force of the sun ; yet the fronts of most of them are all wood, all fir, and such miserable, thin, ruinous, paper-buildings, you would be surprized at.

THE town-house is a good modern building. The *Mint* here, or *Ingenium*, as they call it, was founded by PHILIP II. in 1583.

SEGOVIA has produced some writers of note ; among these the names of VILLALPANDO, SEPULVEDA, BONAVENTURA, and COVARRUVIAS are the most eminent.

THERE is a large *Cloth-Manufacture* here ; they fold, in the year 1759, 7,400 pieces of cloth of 30, 60, and 80 bars in length. They have likewise a *Linen* and a *Paper* manufacture. The *Blankets* of this city are perhaps the finest in the world : But they are dear.



THE FOLLOWING IS

An EPISTLE from Don GREGORIO MAYANS,

Containing his Sentiments about the AQUEDUCT.

QUIDQUID ego ad te scripsero, a benevolentissimo animo proficisci existimare debes. Ego vero posteaquam tuum consilium aperuisti mihi explicatius, laudo illud, & in nobilissimo argumento velle exercere ingenii tui facultates, vehementer probo.

LIBENTER legi epigramma tuum de Aquæductu Segoviensi, ad Henricum Florezium. Et, si meam sententiam scire cupis, ab illo ego valde dissentio. Incipit *Traëctatum vigesimum secundum*, aiens, *Segoviam esse unam ex antiquissimis Hispaniæ urbibus ; non ob id solum quod nomen ejus indicat, & commemorationes historicorum, & geographorum, verum etiam ob insigne monumentum Aquæductus, qui antiquitatem adeo notabilem designat, ut non facile sit ejus originem asserere. Quibus verbis falsa veris permiscetur, rerum ideis confusis, quas breviter distinguam.*

IN eo quod ait de nominis indicio, subobscore alludit ad ridiculam Ruderici Ximenii, Archiepiscopi Toletani, notationem, quæ *Lib. I. cap. 7.* de Hispano loquens, ita scripsit. *Civitatem juxta jugum Dorii ædificavit in loco subiecto promontorio, quod Cobia dicitur, & quia secus Cobiam sita, Secobia nuncupatur*: quæ nominis notatio supponit in Hispania Latinæ linguæ usum, antequam aliquis Romanus in eam advenisset; immo antequam esset ipsa lingua. Segoviæ mentio apud historicos & geographos, adeo recens est, ut ex illorum testimoniis ejus antiquitas deduci nequeat. Antiquiora enim historicorum testimonia sunt A. Hirtii, & L. Flori, quorum hic *Lib. II. cap. 22.* Segoviæ, ut puto, *Arevacorum*, meminit agens de bello Sertoriano: ille libro *De bello Alexandrino, cap. 57.* mentionem fecit Segoviæ sitæ ad Silicense flumen. Ex geographis autem nemo antiquior Ptolemæo Segoviæ meminit. Eum vide *Lib. II. cap. 6.* Quod si mentionem apud nummos addere vis, cum post extinctum Caligulam nulli nummi imperiales in Hispaniarum coloniis & municipiis percussi fuerint, ut rei nummarie peritissimus Emmanuel Martinus Vaillantium secutus docuit, *Epist. Lib. III. epist. 11.* nulla probatio antiquitatis deduci potest, nisi ex nummo illo singulari, quem Rudericus Carus affirmavit se possidere, *Antiq. Hispal. Lib. III. cap. 50.* & præterea nummus ille ad Segoviam *Arevacorum* non pertinet: utpote in eo pons designatur, non aquæductus: pons scilicet ad transeundum Silicense flumen, quod est in Bætica, etsi quale sit, ignoretur. Fortius igitur antiquitatis urbis Segoviæ argumentum ab aquæductus fabrica vult ducere Florezius, nulla vero ratione allegata: nam in eo quod *art. 3.* ejusdem capituli ait, architecturam non esse Romanam, adversarios habet oculatos testes anonymum auctorem Dialogi Linguarum; quem ego edidi in *Originibus linguæ Hispanicæ, Tom. II. pag. 165,* atque clarissimos viros Laurentium Padillam in *Antiquit. Hispan. cap. 3.* & Marchionem Mondexarensen, *Dissertat. Ecclesiast. Tomo I. diff. 2. cap. 3. §. 7.* & in *Noticiis Genealogicis Gentis Segoviæ,* editis nomine Johannis Roman & Cardenas, *cap. 4. pag. 20.*

VIDEAMUS tamen inter quas opiniones fluctuet Florezius. Ejus verba de aquæductu loquentis, sunt hæc: *Aliqui* (ejus originem) *referunt ad Herculem; alii ad Imperatorem Trajanum; & non exigua vulgi pars judicat fuisse Diaboli fabricam.* Et continuo subjungit, *ipsam*

sam opinionum varietatem probare, nihil esse certum. Si nihil igitur certum est, cur Segoviae antiquitatem ab aquæductus fabrica colligit, atque hanc probationem cæteris omnibus anteponebat ?

OPINIO vulgi asserentis diabolum fuisse structorem aquæductus, omnino despicienda est. Prior illa tribuens Herculi illud opus, ridicula : ejusque originem detexit Didacus Colmenares in *Historia Segoviae*, cap. 1, §. 2: subjunxitque multos alios historicos, quos ibi recenset, secutos fuisse Rudericum Ximenium, qui *Lib. I. cap. 7*, scripsit, Hispanum ab Hercule Hispaniæ præfectum aquæductum illum construxisse. Quæ opinio æque falsa est ac præcedens. Verum hoc obiter noto, nomen hoc, *Hispanum*, idem esse atque *Hispålum* : nam *n* facile convertitur in *l*. Sic Messalæ dicti a Messana devicta, & qui in Cornelia gente dicuntur Hispáli, syllaba penultima producta, Hispani dicti a Diodoro Siculo in *Excerptis*, sicut etiam ab Appiano in Libyco, adnotante Henrico Valesio, pag. 59. Re vera autem Hispanus fuit amnis, ut egregie probatur eleganti Trogi Pompeii testimonio, quod apud Justinum legitur, *Lib. XLIV. cap. 1*. sic se habens : *Hanc veteres ab Hiberno amne primum Hiberiam, postea ad Hispano Hispaniam cognominaverunt*, quod testimonium præ oculis habebat B. Isidorus, cum *Etymol. Lib. IX. cap. 2*. dixit : *Hispani ab Hiberno amne primum Hiberi, postea ab Hispålò Hispani cognominati sunt*. Ex quibus constat Hispanum amnem eundem esse ac Hispålum, a quo urbs Hispal nomen accepit, aut vice versa.

SED primum illud verisimilius est, cum flumina soleant esse antiquiora urbibus juxta eà sitis. Novum autem non est annium nomina confectis regibus applicari solere, uti factum videmus in *Præfatione* assuta B. Isidori *Chronico Mundi*, in *Hispania illustrata*, Tomo IV. pag. 41. Variis igitur Bætis nominibus hoc adjunge cæteris illustrius, quia & urbi celeberrimæ, & universæ Hispaniæ nomen dedit.

Ex tribus igitur opinionibus a Florezio commemoratis, una superest, quæ in examen adduci debet, an aquæductus scilicet ab Imperatore Trajano ædificari jussus sit, aut ejus tempore constructus, quod ad ejus antiquitatem comprobendam idem est. Quæ opinio dignissima

est, ut in eam inquiramus, quoniam pro se habet inscriptionem : quæ si vera sit, lis est finita ; sin conficta, fictio ejus probari debet, ne aliud asserentibus obstet. Verum Florezius, qui eodem *Tract.* XXII. *cap.* 1. *num.* 13. allegavit nonnullas inscriptiones, sciens prudensque inscriptionem, de qua loquor, silentio præteriit, ne si eam probaret, opinionem immodicæ antiquitatis, quam ipse tenet, abjicere cogeretur ; aut, si improbaret, rationes fictionis reddere deberet, quas historici, præcedentes eum, omiserunt. Videamus autem quid sentiendum sit. Valdesius apud auctorem *Dialogi de Linguis* ait, in Segovienſi aquæductu suo tempore superesse nonnullas literas, ex quibus constabat Romanos illum struxisse. Paullo postea nullam inscriptionem invenire potuit clarus vir Laurentius Padilla, ut ipse memorat in *Antiquit. Hispan.* fol. 13. pag. 2. Ambrosius Morales, *Lib.* IX. *cap.* 22. fol. 273. pag. 2. confirmat in superiore parte illius ædificii suo tempore superesse indicia litterarum, nullas vero extare. Refert autem dictitari fuisse lapidem inscriptum hoc modo :

LARTIUS. LICI
NIVS. CVM. GV
BERNASSET. HIS
PANIAM. HVNC
AQUAEDVCTVM
IVSSIT. AEDIFI
CARI.

Descripſit hunc titulum Occo, pag. 29. n. 5. & ex eo, ut solet, licet e Morali dicat, Gruterus, pag. 180. n. 4. Subjungit autem Morales, *neminem memoria tenere, se vidisse illas litteras, neque audivisse fuisse.* Et ego (inquit) pro certo habeo, titulum, qui ibi fuit, non fuisse eum, quem hic posui : nam neque stilum, neque ullum saporem habet inscriptionis Romanæ. Alii dicunt, litteras, quæ ibi fuerunt, indicasse ædificium illud factum fuisse impensa multorum populorum, inter quos nominabantur Carpetani, & Vaccæi. Hoc fictio est, & valde inconsiderata ; nam cum esset ædificium in utilitatem singularem unius urbis, non debebant contribuere alii populi, uti faciebant in pontibus ad trans-eundos amnes, qui pontes toti provinciæ erant utiles. Huc usque Morales, judicioſe, uti solet.

Quid vero attinet ad inscriptionem, ea proculdubio conficta est. Nam, si vera esset, Lartius Licinius prænomen suum non omisisset. Et cum *Prætor* primum teste Plinio, *Lib. XIX. cap. 2.* ac deinde *Legatus*, in quo munere obiit, fuerit, ut idem refert, *Lib. 31. cap. 2.* nullo modo omisisset munus, quo ipseungebatur, si vivens aquæductum ædificari jussisset: & si ex ejus testamento factus fuisset, Plinius, qui scripsit post ejus mortem proculdubio id commemorasset: Plinius, inquam, *senior*, qui post Lartii Licinii mortem scripsit: de quo duas res memorabiles refert, nimirum, *Lib. XIX. cap. hanc. Lartio Licinio, prætor viro, jura reddenti in Hispania Carthagine, paucis hinc annis scimus accidisse, ut mordenti tuber, unde prehensus intus denarius primos dentes infleceret: alteram Lib. XXXI. cap. 2.* quæ inter varias observationes referri debet. *In Cantabria (inquit) fontes Tamaraci in augurio habentur. Tres sunt, octonis pedibus distantes. In unum alveum cœunt vasto amne. Singulis siccantur duo decies diebus aliquando vicies, citra suspicionem ullam aquæ, cum sit vicinus illis fons sine intermissione largus. Mirum est, non profluere eos auspicari volentibus, sicut proxime Lartio Licinio legato post præturam post septem dies accidit. Quis igitur dubitabit, Plinium, qui Lib. III. cap. 2. mentionem fecit Segovix, nullo modo silentio præteriturum adeo magnificum opus amici sui, qui tanti faciebat, sua electa, ut de iis loquens Plinius junior, Lib. III. epist. 5. ita scripserit. Referebat ipse (Plinius senior) potuisse se, cum procuraret in Hispania, vendere hos commentarios Lartio Licinio, quadringentis millibus nummum: & tunc aliquanto pauciores erant. Præterea locutio illa, CVM GVBERNASSET HISPANIAM, insolens est, & inaudita in hujusmodi titulis: & minime conveniens prætori aut legato: & multo minus ei, qui uti admonui, in ipso legationis tempore obiit. Ex falsa igitur inscriptione nullum argumentum desumi potest.*

NUNC vellem scire, quo vultu legeris, quod ipse Florezius sentit, num. 3. *difficile fore impugnare dicentem Romanos architecturam didicisse ab hujusmodi operibus.* Nimirum supponit, aquæductus architecturam antiquiorem esse Romanam. Si hoc verum esset, qua fronte Vitruvius, C. Cæsaris & Augusti architectus, *Lib. II. cap. 1.* ita scripsit. *Ad hunc diem nationibus exteris ex his rebus ædificia constituuntur, ut in Gallia, Hispania, Lusitania, Aquitania, scandulis robustis, aut stramentis.* Plinius, *Lib. XXXV. cap. 14.* re-
rens

rens Hispanorum ædificia, sic ait; *Quid! non in Africa, Hispania-que ex terra parietes, quos appellant formaceos, (quoniam in forma circumdatis utrinque duabus tabulis, inferciuntur verius, quàm instruuntur,)* ævis durant, incorrupti imbribus, ventis, ignibus, omnique cemento firmiores?* Specta etiam nunc speculas Hannibalis Hispania, terrenasque turres, jugis montium impositas. Adde B. Isidorum, *Lib. XV. cap. 9.* Plinii verba describentem, & Palladium, *Lib. I. cap. 34.* Vides quomodo ædificaretur in Hispania, Pœnis dominantibus. Vidisti jam & oculis tuis confirmasti, aquæductus Segovienfis architecturam esse Romanam. Ergo cum videatur non fuisse Plinii historia antiquior, non multo posteriorem ea fuisse credendum est. Fulcit hanc conjecturam, Plinium, & scriptores eo antiquiores, non meminisse Segoviæ, ut urbis amplissimæ. Oportet autem magnam urbem fuisse, quæ sumptus sufficeret ad ædificandum aquæductum longissimum & sumtuosissimum in suorum civium usum, ita firmum atque magnificum, ut duratione, integritate, atque magnificentia vincat omnia antiquitatis monumenta, quæ hodie supersunt, infervitque usui, cui destinatus fuit: quod permirum est.

SI vero a me scire cupis, quid existimem de ipsius urbis antiquitate, ego ita judico. Antiquæ civitates, quæ originem suam non debent Romanis, ut Emerita Augusta: ne quæ Græcis, ut Rhoda, Emporiæ, Arthemisium aut Dianium, Alone (hodie *Guardamar*); neque Pœnis, ut Carthago Nova; neque Phœnicibus, ut Cartalias, Cartima, Carteja, Gaddir; eam debent priscis Hispanis, inter quas Segovia numerari debet: nam exteri, qui ante Romanos in Hispaniam venerunt, negotiatores erant, ideoque colonias suas stabiliebant in ora maritima, a qua longe distat Segovia, quæ cum inter Arevacorum urbes nominetur a Plinio & aliis, inter Hispanas antiquiores civitates adnumerari debet. Cupio ut iudicio tuo meam sententiam confirmes, aut meliora me doceas. Deus Optimus Maximus Tibi propitius sit, ut enixe oro.

OLIVÆ, quinto Idus Novembres, Anno MDCCLXI.

* As odd as this passage of PLINY may appear to the Reader, it is right: and he describes their manner of building in SPAIN to this very day:—they place two planks on each side, and then throw in their mortar and bricks all together, which the sun afterwards hardens to a wall.

LETTER XI.

Some Account of the Antiquities at CORDUBA, SEVILLE, CADIZ, GRANADA, SAGUNTUM, TARRAGONA, and BARCELONA.

THE city of CORDUBA is finely situated on the banks of the GUADALQUIVIR, in a wide plain. The streets are narrow, not unlike those of TOLEDO. The MOSQUE is a large, square building, nineteen naves running from north to south, separated by small beautiful columns of black marble, jasper, alabaster, &c. some with fine Corinthian capitals, taken out of the old temple of JANUS AUGUSTUS, as appears by the following *Inscription*, on a pillar of green marble, which in MARIANA's time stood in the Franciscan convent there.

IMP. CAESAR. DIVI.
F. AVGUSTVS. COS.
VIII. TRIB. POTES.
XXI. PONT. MAX. A.
BAETE. ET. IANO.
AVGVSTO. AD.
OCEANVM.
CXXI.
CONSTANTIAE.
AETERNITATI
QUE. AVGVST.

(*Vide Marianam, L. III. C. xxiv. P. 129.*)

Thi₃

This must have been a noble Roman road, for it reached from SALAMANCA to CADIZ, passing through MERIDA and SEVILLE, to the distance of above three hundred miles. The latter part of it, from CORDUBA through EZIJA to the sea, was finished in the eleventh consulate of AUGUSTUS, as appears by another *inscription*, relating to the same road, which I shall now give you. See MARIANA, p. 49. UDAL AP RHYS, p. 122.

IMP. CAES. DIVI. F. AVGVSTVS. PONT.
MAX.
COS. XI. TRIBVNIC. POTEST. X.
IMP. VIII.
ORBE. MARI. ET. TERRA. PACATO.
TEMPLO.
IANI. CLVSO. ET. REP. P. R. OPTIMIS.
LEGIBVS.
ET. SANCTISSIMIS. INSTITVTIS.
REFORMATA.
VIAM. SVPERIOREM. COS. TEMPORE.
INCHOATAM.
ET. MULTIS. LOCIS. INTERMISSAM. PRO.
DIGNITATE.
IMPERII. P. R. LATIOREM. LONGIOREM
QUE.
GADEIS. VSQ. PERDUXIT.

This road was afterwards repaired by the Emperor HADRIAN, as is plain from a third *inscription* found in its neighbourhood.

IMP. CAESAR.
DIVI. TRAIANI. PAR-
THICI. F. DIVI. NER.
VAE. NEPOS. TRAIANUS.
HADRIANVS.
AUG. PONTIF. MAX.
TRIB. POT. V. COS.
III. RESTITVIT.

But to return to the Mosque; the columns in the church would have a beautiful effect, if they were not interrupted with cross-walls,

walls, altars, and the choir, and the presbytery, which is built in the middle. The arches round and re-entering; the coving and roof modern. The re-entering arch was probably first taken from the *crescent*, or *Mahometan-device*.

THERE are many Roman inscriptions at CORDUBA, in the possession of a private person; chiefly *sepulchral*, but no names of note in them; tho' there are some of families, that had received their freedom. The whole will be soon fully explained by PADRE RUANO, a Jesuit, who intends publishing the antiquities of this church and city. From CORDUBA the road leads you to the city of SEVILLE.

SEVILLE stands in an immense plain, on the GUADALQUIVIR, having a bridge of boats across the river; it is a city of great extent, and I am not sure whether it does not contain as many inhabitants as MADRID. The streets are worse than those of TOLEDO, but the houses are clean, built round a square-court, with green *lattices*, and shaded from the sun by a *canvass* on the top.

THE *cathedral* of SEVILLE is an extreme fine *Gothic* structure, raised on noble *pointed* arches, and adorned with good painted glass-windows. It consists of *five naves*, but the whole is spoilt by the screen of the choir, which intercepts your view to a magnificent altar, and a miraculous virgin at the east end. Before that altar is a *sarcophagus* of silver, within which lies the body of FERNANDO SANTO. There is much plate belonging to this church; one whole altar and frontispiece of plate, and a most beautiful silver *custodia*. They have a pleasing oval room for a *chapter-house*; besides there is a *tower* about 44 feet square, and upwards of 130 feet high, built by the Moors in the year 1000, with turrets, and a cupola added by the Christians, which makes it altogether about 300 feet to the top of the image upon the cupola. The ascent of the tower is so easy, that there are no steps, and an horse might easily ascend to the top. In the convents are many capital *pictures* by MURILLO. In a convent of *Jeromites*, upon the river, is a glorious statue of *St. Jerom*, in clay; and from the turrets one has a lovely prospect of the plain,

the river, and the city. SEVILLE is watered by a *Roman aqueduct*, extending from CARMONA to the city, the distance of twenty English miles. There are two fine, large *Corinthian pillars*, taken from a temple of DIANA, on which they have placed the statues of JULIUS CÆSAR and HERCULES. In the house of the Duke of MEDINA CÆLI, are some *Roman pillars*, statues, and inscriptions. The walls of SEVILLE are all *Roman*.

AT CADIZ there are some fine pictures of MURILLO, particularly an altar-piece, from whence he fell, and lost his life. There are great *Roman remains* and *inscriptions* in the high church, and bits of columns every where serving as thresholds and posts. In the corner of one house they have stuck into the wall, the remains of a consular toga, and have added to it an head, painted red and white, and a green laurel crown. In one convent there is a *sarcophagus*, with curious marble bas-reliefs : it is now a cistern, and the good fathers have struck two brass-cocks into the bellies of two water-nymphs, who are henceforward condemned to a perpetual diabetes. They discovered lately a beautiful column, which to prevent trouble and expence, they buried carefully again. The place is plainly a mount, made up of ruins, so that they can hardly stir the ground, but the rubbish turns up something curious.

THERE are some *Roman inscriptions* at MEDINA SIDONIA ; but you would be most delighted with the city of GRANADA : it stands at the foot of a most noble ridge of barren mountains and rocks, which stretch round on each side, in such a manner as to embrace a lovely plain, which is varied with plantations, gardens, and villages : had it but a river, like the GUADALQUIVIR, nothing could exceed it, unless it were an English prospect of the THAMES from CLIFFDEN, or the TRENT from CLIFTON.

THE AL-HAMBRA, at GRANADA, is built on a high hill, which overlooks the city and the valley, containing many grand apartments, all in the MOORISH style, with alcoves, domes, fountains, *Arabic inscriptions*, &c. &c. besides which there is a part built by CHARLES V. but not finished. The front is hand-

some for this country, and the apartments are built round a very beautiful, circular court, with 32 fine marble columns below, and as many in a gallery above. Not far from it, there is a delicious garden of the MOORISH KINGS, called the GNIHALARIFEE, with all kinds of trees, flourishing upon a steep hanging rock, and as much water as supplies numberless *jette-d'eaux's*, and fountains. The rides round the city are charming.

THERE is at SAGUNTUM a square tessellated *pavement*, with Bacchus upon a tyger in the middle; a border on the sides, and flowers issuing in scrolls from the four corners. There are also the almost entire remains of a *Roman amphitheatre*, built under the castle, upon the side of a rocky mountain, and commanding a view of a most fertile country, bounded by the sea.—This *theatre*, together with some *inscriptions*, are described in MARTI, *the dean of Alicant's* epistles, lately published in 4to. by Mr. WESSELING, and, if I mistake not, the building is supposed to have contained 14,000 people. It is certainly a most noble specimen.

AT TARRAGONA there are a multitude of *Roman inscriptions*, most of them to be found in *the Annals of Catalonia*. Not far from thence, in the road to BARCELONA, you pass under a very handsome *triumphal arch*, erected by the family of the LICINII, adorned with fluted Corinthian pillars, and a pediment, with dentiles, like the Ionic order. The *inscription* on the frieze, on one side, is quite effaced; on the other the letters are more visible, and contain the following:—EX TESTAMENTO L. LICINII. On the other side was F. SERG. SVRAE CONSECRATVM. (See Anto. August. dialog. IV. p. 142.—a dos Leguas de Tarragona, &c. &c.)

A LITTLE way on one side the road, somewhat farther on, is the TORRE DE LOS SCIPIONES, or more properly, *the tomb of the Scipios*: being the base of an obelisk, or pyramid, erected to their memory, with a figure on each side in the Roman habit; these are by some judged to express the two SCIPIOS, by others two weeping slaves.

IN BARCELONA there is hardly any thing curious, except an old *mezzo-relievo* of a lion hunting, with different figures, men, horses, dogs, &c. This is now converted into a cistern, and stands in the court of one of the canons. Upon a wall by it are two beautiful heads in *profile*, very well preserved; one representing JULIUS CÆSAR with the laurel crown; the other with an ornamented helmet. There are some few *family inscriptions*. The city is large, but the streets are dark and narrow, with as much industry in them, as if the people were not Spaniards. The fortifications, tho' expensive, are injudicious.

I CANNOT conclude this account without presenting my reader, now I am upon the subject of *Roman antiquities* remaining in SPAIN, with the most remarkable genuine *Roman inscription* written in *verse*, and still to be seen in a temple near the bridge of ALCANTARA in ESTREMADURA: the architect LACER, who built both the bridge and the temple, was a good *poet*, as well as builder, tho' his assurance in both arts is scarce to be equalled.—

Imp. Nervæ Trajano Cæsari
Augusto, Germanico, Dacico sacrum.

Templum in rupe Tagi Superis et Cæsare plenum,
Ars ubi materiâ vincitur ipsa suâ;
Quis, quali dederit voto, fortasse requireret
Cunque viatorum, quos nova fama juvat;
Pontem perpetui mansuram in sæcula mundi
Fecit divinâ nobilis arte LACER;
Ingentem vastâ pontem qui mole peregit,
Sacra litaturo fecit honore LACER;
Qui pontem fecit *Lacer*, et nova templa dicavit,
Scilicet et Superis munera sola libant;
Idem Romuleis templum cum Cæsare Divis
Constituit: Felix utraque causa sacri.

C. Julius Lacer H. S. F. et
Dedicavit amico Curio Luconi
Igæditano.

See Bleau's Atlas, and Mr. Ap-Rice, p. 116.

L E T T E R XII.

A LIST of the LAND FORCES of His Most CATHOLIC MAJESTY, CHARLES III. King of SPAIN, in the year 1760.

Regiments of Infantry.	Years.	Uniform.	Bs.	Men.
Spaniards.				
The Spanish Guards	1703	Blue and Red	6	3180
The Walloon Guards	1703	Blue and Red	6	3180
The Queen's Regiment	1735	Blue and Red	2	1166
The Regiment of Castile		White and Yellow	2	1166
of Lombardy	1537	White and Red	2	1166
of Galicia	1537	White and Red	2	1166
of Savoy	1537	White and Blue	2	1166
of the Crown	1537	White and Blue	2	1166
of Africa	1553	White and Blue	2	1166
of Zamora	1580	White and Red	2	1166
of Soria	1531	White and Red	2	1166
of Cordova	1650	White and Red	2	1166
of Portugal	1657	White and Red	2	1166
of Guadalajara	1657	White and Red	2	1166
of Seville	1657	White and Blue	2	1166
of Granada	1657	White and Green	2	1166
of Victoria	1658	White and Red	2	1166
of Lisbon	1660	White and Red	2	1166
of Spain	1660	White and Green	2	1166
of Toledo	1661	White and Blue	2	1166
of Majorca	1662	White and Red	2	1166
of Burgos	1634	White and Red	2	1166
of Murcia	1634	White and Blue	2	1166
of Leon	1634	White and Red	2	1166
of Cantabria	1703	White and Blue	2	1166
of Asturias	1703	White and Red	2	1166
of Ceuta, stationed	1703	White and Red	2	1380
of Navarre	1705	White and Red	2	1166
of Artillery	1710	Blue and Red	2	1380
of Arragon	1711	White and Red	2	1166
of Marines	1711	Blue and Red	8	6260
of Oran, stationed	1733	White and Green	2	1380
Total of the Spaniards	—	—	78	46,876
			Regiments.	

A LIST of the SPANISH LAND FORCES.

Regiments of Infantry.	Years.	Uniform.	Bs.	Men.
Italians.				
A Regiment of Neapolitans of Milan	1552	White and Red	2	1060
	1704	White and Blue	2	1060
Total of Italians	—	—	4	2120
Short Walloons.				
Regiment of Flanders of Brabant of Brussels	1536	White and Blue	2	1060
	1713	White and Blue	2	1060
	1734	White and Blue	2	1060
Total of the Walloons	—	—	6	3180
Irish.				
The Regiment of Ireland of Ibernia of Ulster	1638	White and Blue	2	1060
	1703	Red and Green	2	1060
	1703	Red and Blue	2	1060
Total of Irish	—	—	6	3180
Swiss.				
The Regiment of Buch of Senballar of Young Reding		Red and Blue	2	1480
		Blue and Red	2	1480
		Blue and Yellow	2	1480
Total of the Swiss	—	—	6	4440
Regiments of Militia.				
The Regiment of Jaen of Badajos of Seville of Burgos of Lugo of Granada of Leon of Oviedo of Cordova of Murcia of Trujillo of Xerez of Carmona of Niebla of Ezija of Ciudad Rodrigo of Placentia of Logrogne of Siguenza of Toro		White and Blue	1	700
		White and Red	1	700
		White and Red	1	700
		White and Red	1	700
		White and Yellow	1	700
		White and Green	1	700
		White and Green	1	700
		White and Blue	1	700
		White and Green	1	700
		White and Red	1	700
		White and Blue	1	700
		White and Red	1	700
		White and Green	1	700
		White and Yellow	1	700
		White and Blue	1	700
		White and Blue	1	700
		White and Red	1	700
		White and Green	1	700
		White and Green	1	700
		White and Yellow	1	700
Carried over			20	14000
			Regiments	

A LIST of the SPANISH LAND FORCES. 213

Regiments of Militia.	Years.	Uniform.	Bs.	Men.
		Brought over	20	14,000
The Regiment of Soria		White and Blue	1	700
of Santander		White and Blue	1	700
of Orense		White and Yellow	1	700
of St. Jago		White and Red	1	700
of Pontevedra		White and Blue	1	700
of Tuy		White and Red	1	700
of Batanzos		White and Green	1	700
of Antequera		White and Red	1	700
of Malaga		White and Green	1	700
of Guadiz		White and Yellow	1	700
of Ronda		White and Yellow	1	700
of Alpujarras		White and Blue	1	700
of Bujalance		White and Yellow	1	700
Total of the Militia	—	—	33	23,100

Regiments of Invalids.

The Regiment of Castile		White and Red	2	1200
of Andalusia		White and Blue	2	1200
of Galicia		White and Yellow	2	1200
of Valencia		White and Green	2	1200
Total of the Invalids	—	—	8	4800

Regiments of Horse.

The Queens Regiment	1703	Red and Blue	2	245
The Regiment of the Prince	1703	Blue and Red	2	245
of Milan	1538	White and Red	2	245
of Bourbon	1640	White and Red	2	245
of the Orders	1640	Blue and Red	2	245
of Farnese	1634	Blue and Red	2	245
of Alcantara	1656	White and Red	2	245
of Estremadura	1656	White and Red	2	245
of Barcelona	1653	White and Blue	2	245
of Malta	1670	White and Blue	2	245
of Brabant	1683	White and Blue	2	245
of Flandres	1635	White and Blue	2	245
of Algarve	1701	White and Blue	2	245
of Andalusia	1703	White and Blue	2	245
of Calatrava	1703	White and Red	2	245
of Granada	1703	White and Red	2	245
of Seville	1703	White and Blue	2	245
of St. Jago	1703	Blue and Red	2	245
of Montefa	1706	White and Blue	2	245
of the Coast of Granada	1735	Blue and Yellow	2	600
of Carabiniers	1732	Blue and Red	3	460
of Body Guards	1703	Blue and Red	3	399
Total of the Horse	—	—	46	6114
				Regiments

Regiments of Dragoons.	Years.	Uniform.	Bo.	Men.
The Queen's Regiment	1735	Red and Blue	2	256
The Regiment of Belgia	1674	Yellow and Red	2	256
of Battavia	1684	Yellow and Red	2	256
of Pavia	1683	Yellow and Red	2	256
of Frifa	1703	Yellow and Red	2	256
of Saguntum	1703	Yellow and Green	2	256
of Edinburgh	1707	Yellow and Blue	2	256
of Numantia	1707	Yellow and Blue	2	256
of Lusitania	1703	Yellow and Blue	2	256
of Merida	1735	Yellow and Blue	2	256
Total of the Dragoons			20	2560
Independent Companies.				
The Crofs Bow-men of Baeza		White and Green	1	200
The Citizens of Ceuta		Blue and Red	1	150
The Fusileers of Jetares		Blue and Red	1	80
The Garrisons of Ceuta		Blue and Red	1	200
— of Melille, Pegnon, Aluzemas, } Peniscola		Blue and Red	2	400
— of Oran		Blue and Red	1	400
The Gunners of Estramadura		Blue and Red	1	100
Ditto of Oran and Ceuta		Blue and Red	2	200
The Miners and Workmen of Oran } and Ceuta		Blue and Red	2	145
Ditto of Lanifa		Blue and Red	1	30
Madrid, Bon Ventura		Blue and Red	1	50
Oran, Mogataces		{ In the Turkish manner	1	50
Total of the Independent Companies			15	2005
Sum total, 98,375 Men.				

By an ordonnance of his Majesty, dated 1741, which was the result of a grand council of the Sword, the order and rank of the regiments of Infantry, Horse and Dragoons, was declared to be the same that is observed in this Table, reserving always to each of them their right in so far as they can offer new proofs.

Besides the above troops, his Catholic Majesty has for the guard of his Royal Person, a body of 150 Halberdiers, who are also employed to supply vacant offices.

An estimate of the annual expence of the LAND FORCES in the service of his CATHOLIC MAJESTY.

The General Establishment of the Army.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
T O 6 Captains-General, 1000 crowns vellon per month each, is annually -	8,000		
16 Lieutenant-Generals employed, 750 crowns vellon per month each, is annually	16,000		
25 other Lieutenant-Generals, not employed, 375 crowns per month each, is annually	17,500		
21 Major-generals, employed, 500 crowns per month each, is per annum -	14,000		
20 other Major-Generals, not employed, 250 crowns per month each, is annually -	6,666	13	4
30 Brigadiers, 200 crowns per month each, is annually -	8,000		
61 Brigadiers, not employed, $137\frac{1}{2}$ crowns per month each, is per annum -	11,183	6	8
11 Majors of Brigade, 100 crowns per month each, is annually -	1,466	13	4
a Quarter-Master-General, annually -	266	13	4
a Quarter-Master-General of the Cavalry, annually -	266	13	4
a Major-General of Dragoons, annually -	266	13	4
a Controler, or Intendant, -	200		
16 Commissaries of War, 150 crowns each per month, is per annum -	3,200		
a Quarter-Master-General, annually -	100		
his two assistants, 35 crowns per month each, is annually -	93	6	8
a Captain of the Guides, annually -	100		
his Lieutenant, annually -	66	13	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
carried over	87,376	13	4
F f		brought	

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	brought over	87,376	13	4
To 20 Guides on horseback, annually	-	200		
the Prevot of the army, annually	-	200		
his two Lieutenants, 75 crowns per month each, annually	-	200		
2 Exempts, 50 crowns each, per month, is annually	-	133	6	8
30 Archers, annually	-	332	4	
a Clerk, annually	-	53	6	8
the Chaplain-Major, annually	-	133	6	8
the first Physician, annually	-	266	13	4
the Surgeon-Major, annually	-	200		
the Apothecary, annually	-	133	6	8
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		89,228	17	4

An estimate of the expence of the INFANTRY, exclusive of the Body Guards, the Walloon Guards, the Swifs, the Regiment of Artillery, and Invalids.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To 38 Colonels of 38 regiments of Infantry, $132\frac{1}{2}$ Vellon crowns per month each, is annually	6713	6	8
38 Lieutenant-Colonels, 80 crowns per month each, is annually	4053	6	8
38 Majors, 65 crowns per month each, is annually	3293	6	8
38 Aids or Assistants, 30 crowns per month each, per annum	1520		
38 Chaplains, $17\frac{1}{2}$ crowns per month each, is per annum	886	13	4
38 Surgeons, 15 crowns per month each, is annually	760		
38 Drum-Majors, 5 crowns per month each, is annually	253	6	8
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
carried over	17,480	0	0
			brought

	l.	s.	d.
brought over	17,480	0	0
38 Commandants of second battalions, 57 crowns per month each, is per annum -	2888		
38 Aids of second battalions, 30 crowns per month each, is per annum -	1520		
38 Chaplains of second battalions, $17\frac{1}{2}$ crowns per month each, is annually -	886	13	
38 Surgeons of second battalions, 15 crowns per month each, is per annum -	760		
456 Captains of Infantry, 57 crowns per month each, is annually -	34,656		
456 Lieutenants, $22\frac{1}{2}$ crowns per month each, is per annum -	13,680		
456 Ensigns, 15 crowns per month each, is per annum -	9120		
912 serjeants, annually -	6091	18	3
912 First Corporals, annually -	4351	6	8
1368 Second Corporals, per annum -	5221	13	
380 Drummers, per annum -	1266	13	6
17,784 foldiers, annually -	50,911	1	
2964 Grenadeers, annually -	11,313	11	11
152 Carabineers, per annum -	652	13	10
25,460 pairs of shoes, annually, at 2s. 8d. per pair, is -	3394	13	4
25,460 pairs of stockings, at $13\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pair, is -	1410		
25,460 hats, at 1s. $6\frac{3}{4}$ d. each, is -	1980	4	5
25,460 shirts, with 50,920 rollers, at 3s. each, is -	3819		
11,400 coats, waistcoats, and breeches, at 1l. 11s. $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. each suit, is -	17,705	12	2
5472 muskets, with their bayonets, at 1l. 8s. each, is -	7650	16	
5472 belts, with their swords, is -	2221	8	8
5472 cartridge-boxes, is -	1337	13	
carried over	200,318	18	9
F f 2		brought	

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
brought over	200,318	18	9
To 5472 Drums, with their braces, is	-	1824	
25,460 rations, which the King pays every day to this body of Infantry, at three farthings each ration	-	29,200	
Sum total	231,342	18	9

As it would be too tedious to specify the particular articles of the other corps, I shall only give the total expence of each of them; and after that shall sum up the whole expence of the land army in 1760.

The expence of the body of Horse Guards, consisting of 480 men	-	26,535	13	6
expence of the regiment of Spanish Foot Guards, of 5856 men	-	99,528	6	
regiment of Walloon Guards, of 5856 men	-	97,939	6	
expence of 20 regiments of cavalry	220,349			
expence of ten regiments of Dragoons	-	116,354	10	
expence of a regiment of Carabineers	-	39,563	18	
expence of the three Swiss regiments	-	66,240		
regiment of Artillery, and offices belonging to that department	-	35,736		
four regiments of Invalids	-	12,670	10	
The first article of the General Establishment		89,228	17	4
The second article of the main body of Infantry	-	231,342	18	9
The total expence of the Land Army of 1760		1,035,488	19	7

R E M A R K S.

REMARKS.

The expence of the 23,000 militia is here not reckoned, as that corps receives no pay but when it is upon duty, in which case it is paid in the same manner as the other regiments.

THE independant companies in the Catholic King's service are paid at the expence of the cities which they garrison; and on that consideration the inhabitants enjoy certain privileges and exemptions: but a royal edict of the year 1752 ordains, that as oft as those companies shall take the field, or march to any other place, in the King's service, they shall be entertained at his expence.

A LIST of the NAVAL FORCES of his CATHOLIC MAJESTY
CHARLES III. King of SPAIN, in the year 1760.

SHIPS of the LINE, 47.	Guns.	Years.	Gunners.	Marines.	Crews.
El Phenix	70	1749	12	120	750
El Atronador	70	1743	12	120	750
El St. Philipe	70	1745	12	120	750
* La Reyna	70	1744	12	120	750
El Constante	70	1755	12	120	750
* El Tigre	70	1747	12	120	750
** La Asia	70	1751	12	120	750
El Fernando	70	1751	12	120	750
La Galicia	70	1751	12	120	750
* El Infante	70	1750	12	120	750
La Princesa	70	1751	12	120	750
El Septrention	70	1751	12	120	750
La Africa	70	1752	12	120	750
El Oriente	70	1753	12	120	750
El Eolo	70	1753	12	120	750
* El Aquilon	70	1754	12	120	750
El Soberbio	70	1754	12	120	750
El Serio	70	1754	12	120	750
* * El Neptuno	70	1754	12	120	750
El Brillante	70	1753	12	120	750
El Magnanimo	70	1754	12	120	750
La Galiarda	70	1754	12	120	750
* El Vincedor	70	1755	12	120	750
Carried over,	1610		276	2760	17250
				El Guerrero	

	Guns.	Years.	Gunners.	Marines.	Crews.
SHIPS of the LINE, 47.					
Brought over	1610		276	2760	17250
El Guerrero	70	1759	12	120	750
* El Soberano	70	1755	12	120	750
El Glorioso	70	1755	12	120	750
El Hector	70	1755	12	120	750
El Firmo	70	1754	12	120	750
El Achilles	70	1754	12	120	750
El Terrible	70	1755	12	120	750
La Athalanta	70	1754	12	120	750
El Poderoso	70	1754	12	120	750
El Arrogante	70	1754	12	120	750
El Hercules	70	1755	12	120	750
El Dichofo	70	1756	12	120	750
El Triumphante	70	1756	12	120	750
El Monarcha	70	1756	12	120	750
El Diligente	70	1756	12	120	750
El Fuerte	60	1727	10	100	600
* * La Europa	60	1734	10	100	600
* La America	60	1736	10	100	600
El Dragon	60	1739	10	100	600
El Tridente	60	1748	10	100	600
El Nueva Espana	60	1754	10	100	600
La Castelia	60	1753	10	100	600
* El San Genaro	60	1762	10	100	600
* El San Antonio	60	1762	10	100	600
The total,	3200		546	5460	33900

PACKET-BOATS, 4.

* El Marte	16	1753	4	30	250
El Diligente	16	1753	4	30	250
El Jupiter	16	1751	4	30	230
El Mercurio	16	1747	4	30	200
The total,	64		16	120	930

BOMB VESSELS, 7.

El Vulcano.	3	1728	2	20	150
El Sterope	3	1743	2	20	150
El Bronto	3	1733	2	20	150
El Piracmon	3	1743	2	20	150
El Rey	3	1721	2	20	150
El Bueno	3	1730	2	20	150
El Relampago.	3	1743	2	20	150
The total,	56		14	140	1050

XEBECs,

and REVENUES of SPAIN.

221

XEBECs, 14.

	Guns.	Years.	Gunners.	Marines.	Crews.
El Aventurara	30	1758	6	50	400
El Cazador	18	1750	4	30	240
El Volante	18	1750	4	30	240
El Garcota	18	1750	4	30	240
El Galgo	16	1750	4	30	240
El Liebre	16	1750	4	30	240
El Gavilán	16	1753	4	30	240
El Majorquino	16	1744	4	30	240
El Gitano	14	1753	4	30	240
El Valenciano	14	1754	4	30	240
El Catalano	22	1754	6	40	300
El Ivifenco	22	1754	6	40	300
Another	22	1754	6	40	300
Another	22	1754	6	40	300
The total,	264		66	480	3760

FRIGATES, 21.

La Esparanza	50	1736	8	60	460
El Bizarro	50	1737	8	60	460
El Flor	30	1747	6	50	400
La Emeraldá	30	1753	6	50	400
* El Venganza	30	1755	6	50	400
El Liebre	26	1755	4	40	360
La Industria	26	1755	4	40	360
La Ventura	26	1755	4	40	360
La Venus	26	1755	4	40	360
La Pallas	26	1755	4	40	360
La Junon	26	1755	4	40	360
La Astrea	26	1753	4	40	360
La Hermoza	24	1754	4	40	360
La Vitoria	24	1751	4	40	360
La Galga	22	1752	4	40	360
La Dorada	22	1753	4	40	360
La Perla	22	1753	4	40	360
La Aquila	22	1753	4	40	360
La Flecha	22	1753	4	40	360
La Reyna	22	1755	4	40	360
* La Thetis					
The total,	552		94	870	7520

A GENERAL SUMMARY of the NAVAL FORCES.

Ships of the Line	_____	_____	_____	47
Frigates	_____	_____	_____	21
Xebecs	_____	_____	_____	14
Packet-boats	_____	_____	_____	4
Bomb Vessels	_____	_____	_____	7
Guns	_____	_____	_____	4016
Gunners	_____	_____	_____	712
Marines	_____	_____	_____	6870
Crew	_____	_____	_____	45,960

N O T E.

At CADIZ there is established an academy of marine guards, who are maintained there, to the number of 150, at the expence of the finances of his Catholic Majesty.

The marines who are embarked on board the whole navy are drawn from the marine regiment, comprehended in the list of the land forces in the Royal service of his Catholic Majesty. For this reason, they ought not to be reckoned to belong to this general summary. The same ought to be remarked in regard to the marine gunners, who are drawn from the regiment of artillery, likewise included in the same list of land forces.

In the docks of GUARNIZO, FERROL, and CARTHAGENA, they are building four other ships of the line, five frigates, and some other ships of war, which may be ready for the sea the ensuing year 1761.

N. B. The ships marked * were taken by us at the HAVANNA, besides two others on the stocks, not finished. Those with this mark ** were sunk in the mouth of the harbour.

AN ESTIMATE of the EXPENCE of the NAVAL FORCES.

The Particulars of the Expence of 47 SHIPS of the LINE.

	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
T O the Governor-general of the navy annual- ly, - - - - -	2000	0	0
7 Lieutenant-generals of marine, 450 crowns vellon each, per month, is per annum -	4200	0	0
6 Admirals, 225 crowns per month, each, is annually - - - - -	1800	0	0
5 of them, when embarked, by way of gra- tification, during the campaign, - - -	666	13	4
47 Captains of ships, 100 crowns per month each, is annually - - - - -	6450	0	0
32 who are cruising, as a gratification, -	4000	0	0
47 Lieutenants of ships, 75 crowns per month each, is annually - - - - -	4837	10	0
32 who are cruising, as a gratification, -	768	0	0
47 Ensigns of ships, 30 crowns per month each, annually - - - - -	1935	0	0
32 who serve on a cruise, as a gratification,	768	0	0
140 Marine-guards officers, annually, -	2240	0	0
The same, by way of gratification, - - -	1803	8	9
5 Intendants of the marine, 60 crowns per month each, is per annum, - - - - -	400	0	0
The same, by way of gratification, - - -	146	13	4
32 Clerks of ships, 40 crowns per month each, is annually - - - - -	1506	13	4
The same, by way of gratification, - - -	188	17	6
47 Masters of the rigging, 30 crowns per month each, is per annum - - - - -	1935	0	0
3 Chaplains majors, 50 crowns per month each, is annually - - - - -	200	0	0
47 other Chaplains, 30 crowns per month each, is per annum - - - - -	1935	0	0
Carried over,	37,780	16	3
G g			To

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over,	37,780	16	3
To 47 first Surgeons, 30 crowns per month each, annually - - - -	1935	0	0
47 other Surgeons, 25 crowns per month each, is annually - - - -	1612	10	0
47 first Pilots, 30 crowns per month each, is annually - - - -	1935	0	0
47 second Pilots, 25 crowns per month each, annually - - - -	1612	10	0
47 third Pilots, 15 crowns per month each, is per annum - - - -	967	10	0
47 first Master-gunners, 25 crowns per month each, is annually - - - -	1612	10	0
47 other Master-gunners, 15 crowns per month, is per annum, - - - -	967	10	0
47 first Mates, 30 crowns per month each, is per annum - - - -	1935	0	0
47 second Mates, 25 crowns per month each, is annually - - - -	1612	10	0
45 other Master-gunners, 20 crowns per month each, is per annum - - - -	1260	0	0
270 Gunners, 9 crowns each per month, is per annum - - - -	3233	6	8
7000 Sailors, $4\frac{1}{2}$ <i>piastres</i> , or 15 shillings per month each, is annually - - - -	68,250	0	0
8250 Boys, $4\frac{1}{2}$ vellon crowns each, per month, is annually - - - -	49,500	0	0
7150 Swobbers, 3 crowns each per month, is per annum - - - -	28,600	0	0
70 Sergeants, 9 crowns per month each, is annually - - - -	833	0	0
3770 Marines of the same fleet, annually,	18,303	0	0
The Purser-general, for 9,577,600 rations, which they furnish every year for the sub- sistence of 26,240 men, of which the ma-			

Carried over, 221,950 2 11
rines

the NAVAL FORCES of SPAIN. 225

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over,	221,950	2	11
rines and crew of the said fleet are composed,	-	-	-
To 47 Carpenters of ships, 30 crowns per month each, is annually	225,355	4	6
An annual expence of 173 short cwt. of gun-powder, 53 ditto of balls, and 31 ditto of match, at the rate of 3 l. 6 s. 8 d. the cwt. of powder, 10 s. 6 d. the balls, and 1 l. 3 s. the match,	1,887	15	0
For extraordinary careenings and repairs,	633	6	8
	11,189	0	0
The whole expence of 47 Ships of the Line,	461,015	9	1
The expence of 21 frigates,	117,851	0	0
The expence of 14 xebecs,	75,093	4	6
Of 7 bomb vessels,	22,483	13	0
Of 4 packet boats,	18,992	0	0
The whole expence of the fleet,	695,435	6	7

The Expence of the MARINE DEPARTMENTS.

To 3 Intendants of the 3 departments of the marine, 450 crowns each per month, per annum,	1800	0	0
6 Commissaries, 150 crowns vellon per month each, annually	1200	0	0
3 Great Treasurers, 180 crowns per month each, is per annum	720	0	0
3 Treasurers, 200 crowns per month each, is annually	800	0	0
30 Major, or first officers, 60 crowns per month each, per annum	2800	0	0
Carried over,	7320	0	0
G g 2			Tc

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over,	73	20	0
To 40 second Officers, 40 crowns per month each, annually, - - -	31	33	6
43 Supernumeraries, 18 crowns per month each, is per annum - - -	15	11	0
92 Clerks, employed at the arsenals, 21 crowns per month each, is per annum -	6	33	6
Others, maintained at the boards, according to their pay, annually - - -	6	22	4
The Officers who enrol on the books, or Clerks of the check, by way of gratification, - - -	9	18	0
46 Clerks of the book office, 50 crowns per month each, per annum, -	11	15	11
3 Chiefs of ditto, 60 crowns per month each, annually - - -	4	00	0
3 Porters of the chamber of accounts, 18 crowns per month each, is per annum, -	7	2	0
The Master-builder at CADIZ, annually	3	04	3
The Master-builder at FERROL, annually	3	04	3
The Master-builder at CARTHAGENA, annually - - -	6	08	6
16 Draughtsmen, designed as Assistants to the Builders, 20 Crowns per Month each, is annually - - -	4	26	13
3 naval Store-keepers, 60 crowns per month each, is annually -	6	71	0

The Tribunals of the MARINE.

To 3 Marine Auditors of war, 100 vellon crowns a-month each, per annum. -	400	0	0
3 Secretaries of the marine, 60 crowns per month each, annually -	240	0	0
12 Alguazils of the marine, 15 crowns per month each, per annum, - - -	192	0	0

Carried over, 18,871 14 9
3 To

SALARIES of the GREAT OFFICERS. 227.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over,	18,871	14	9
To 3 Porters, 25 crowns per month each, is	100	0	0
For Extraordinaries, annually	154	13	4
<hr/>			
The sum of the marine department and tribunals,	19,126	8	1
The whole expence of the fleet,	695,435	6	7
<hr/>			
The expence of the whole marine,	714,561	14	8

The salaries of the members of the great offices, and tribunals, are as follows.

The COUNCIL of STATE.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To the Dean of the council annually	1466	13	4
3 other Ministers, ditto,	4400	0	0
The Secretary, per annum,	444	9	0
The first Porter,	40	0	0
The second Porter,	22	4	5
For extraordinaries annually, that is, paper, ink, pens, refreshments, and for furnishing the apartments in summer and winter,	488	17	10

SECRETARIES of STATE, and of universal dispatches.

To the Secretary of State, and of universal dispatch,	1333	6	8
The Secretary of State, and of the dispatch of Favour,	1333	6	8
The Secretary of State, and of the dispatch of Favour and Justice,	1333	6	8
The Secretary of State, and of the dispatch of the marine,	1333	6	8
The Secretary of State, and of the dispatch of the Finances,	1333	6	8
<hr/>			
Carried over,	13,528	17	11
To			

		l.	s.	d.
	Brought over,	13,528	17	11
To 5 first Officers, 202 vellon ducats per month each, is annually	-	1481	0	0
5 second Officers, 150 ducats per month each, is annually	-	1100	0	0
30 other Officers, 60 ducats per month each, per annum,	-	2640	0	0
20 Supernumeraries, 30 ducats per month each, is per annum	-	880	0	0
5 first Porters, 30 ducats per month each, is annually	-	293	6	0
5 second Porters, 25 ducats per month each, is per annum	-	183	6	0
For extraordinaries annually,	-	1294	9	0

Royal and Supreme Council of his Majesty.

The first HALL of GOVERNMENT.

To the President annually,	-	1333	6	8
7 other Commissioners, 200 ducats per month each, is per annum,	-	2053	6	8
The Fiscal, annually	-	333	6	8
The Secretary, annually	-	244	9	0
The first Porter,	-	66	13	4
The second Porter,	-	44	9	4
For extraordinaries,	-	266	13	4

The Second HALL of GOVERNMENT.

This Hall consists of 4 Commissioners, a Secretary, 2 Porters; and the whole expences of it, extraordinaries included,	-	1951	0	0
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The HALL of MIL Y QUINIENTAS.

This Hall consists of 5 Commissioners, a Secre-

Carried over,	27,694	3	11
		tary,	

GREAT OFFICERS of SPAIN. 229

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over,	27,694	3	11
tary, and other officers; and the whole expences of it, extraordinaries included, are	2133	6	8

The HALL of the PROVINCE.

This Hall consists of 4 Commissioners, a Governor, the Judges of the several Provinces, a Fiscal, three Secretaries, and other officers; and the expence of the whole is	-	6826	13	4
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The HALL of the GRAND PREVOTS of the House and Court.

This consists of a Governor, two other Commissioners, a Fiscal, Secretary, and other officers; the expence of the whole being	-	2283	6	8
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The HALL of JUSTICE

Consists of 3 Commissioners, a Fiscal, a Secretary, and Porter; the expence is	-	1411	11	0
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The GRAND COUNCIL of WAR

Consists of 6 Commissioners, a Fiscal, an Assessor, a Secretary, &c. the expence is		4115	11	0
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The GRAND COUNCIL of the INQUISITION.

To the Inquisitor-general, annually,	-	489	0	0
7 other Inquisitors, annually,	-	2566	13	4
The Fiscal	-	333	6	8
The Secretary of the chamber,	-	333	6	8
The Alguazil major,	-	166	13	4

Carried over, 48,353 12 7

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	Brought over,	48,353	12	7
To 2 Inquisitors of the council,	200 ducats per			
month each, is per annum	-	533	6	8
The first Porter,	-	66	13	4
The Porter of the Tribunal,	-	122	4	5
For extraordinaries,	-	477	17	0

The GRAND COUNCIL of the INDIES.

To the great Chancellor of the INDIES,	-	489	0	0
17 other Commissioners, 200 ducats per				
month each, is per annum,	-	4986	13	4
The Fiscal respecting PERU,	-	333	6	8
The Fiscal respecting NEW SPAIN,	-	333	6	8
The Secretary respecting PERU,	-	333	6	8
The Secretary respecting NEW SPAIN,	-	333	6	8
The Lieutenant of the Chancellor,	-	400	0	0
2 Porters,	-	111	0	0
Extraordinaries,	-	888	17	10

The GRAND COUNCIL of MILITARY
ORDERS

Consists of a President, 8 other Commissioners, a Fiscal, a Secretary, a great Treasurer, Treasurer, Alguazil, Procurator-general of the order of St. JAMES, several other officers of that order, and two Porters; the expence of the whole, with extraordinaries, being

5910 0 0

The COUNCILS of the FINANCES.

I. The HALL of GOVERNMENT.

To 15 Commissioners, 200 ducats each per				
month, is per annum,	-	4400	0	0
Carried over,		68,072	11	10
				To

GREAT OFFICERS of SPAIN. 231

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over,	68,072	11	10
To the grand Treasurer-general of the Chamber of Valuations,	333	6	8
To the grand Treasurer-general of the Distribution,	333	6	8
A Fiscal, Secretary, two Porters, and extraordinaries, are	1064	9	0

The HALL of the MILLONES

Consists of 8 Commissioners, a Secretary, Fiscal, 2 Porters; the expence of the whole, including extraordinaries, is	2771	0	0
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The HALL of JUSTICE

Consists of 6 Commissioners, and officers as above; the expence, with extraordinaries, is	2066	13	4
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The TRIBUNAL of the GREATER CHAMBER of ACCOMPTS.

14 Commissioners, and officers as above; the expence, including extraordinaries,	4468	6	1
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The General Commission of CRUSADE.

A Commissary, 2 Assessors, a great Treasurer, and other officers, as above; the expence of the whole, including extraordinaries,	1866	13	4
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The BOARD of WORKS and FORESTS.

7 Commissioners, a Judge of the Wood by Commission, and other officers, as above; the expence of which, with extraordinaries, is	1999	0	0
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Carried over, 82,975 6 11
The

SALARIES of the

	l.	s.	d.
Brought over,	82,975	6	11

The COUNCIL of COMMERCE, MONEY,
and MINES

Consists of a President, 12 other Commissioners,
and officers as above; the expence of the
whole, including extraordinaries, being

2771	0	0
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The ROYAL JUNTA de FACULTADES.

3 Commissioners, a Secretary, and 2 Porters;
the expence, with extraordinaries, -

949	0	0
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The ROYAL APOSTOLIC ASSEMBLY.

6 Commissioners, and officers as above; the ex-
pence, with extraordinaries, being -

1413	6	8
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The ROYAL JUNTA of TOBACO.

A President, 7 Commissioners, 4 Fiscals, a Se-
cretary, and two Porters; the expence, in-
cluding extraordinaries, -

2969	0	0
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The ROYAL JUNTA of PROVISIONS.

7 Commissioners, and officers as above; the ex-
pence, with extraordinaries, -

1621	0	0
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The ROYAL ASSEMBLY of the SINGLE
CONTRIBUTION.

5 Commissioners, and officers as above; the ex-
pence, including extraordinaries, -

1444	6	8
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Carried over,	94,143	0	3
		The	

	l.	s.	d.
Brought over,	94,143	0	3

The TRIBUNAL of PHYSIC.

A President, Vice-president, first Physician, Af-
fessor, Fiscal, Secretary, and 2 Porters; the
expence, including extraordinaries, - 1001 0 0

COMMISSIONERS, and others employed in
the PROVINCIAL TRIBUNALS.

The ROYAL CHANCERY of VALLADOLID

Consists of a President, 16 Commissioners, 4
Prevots, a Judge, 4 other Prevots, 2 Fiscals,
a Secretary, 2 Porters; and the expences, with
extraordinaries, are - 5262 5 5

The ROYAL CHANCERY of GRENADA

Consists of a President, 16 other Commissioners,
8 Prevots, 2 Fiscals, an Alguazil major, and
2 Porters; and, with the extraordinaries, is 4851 0 0

The GRAND COUNCIL of NAVARRE

Is composed of a Viceroy, and Captain-general
of NAVARRE, of a Regent, 6 other Commis-
sioners, and a Fiscal, - 2420 0 0

The HALL of GRAND PREVOTS

Consists of 4 Prevots, - 533 6 8

Carried over, 108,210 12 4

	l.	s.	d.
Brought over,	108,210	12	4

The TRIBUNAL of the CHAMBER of
ACCOMPTS

Consists of 5 Commissioners, a Patrimonial of the Kingdom, a Treasurer, 3 Secretaries, and 4 Porters; and, with extraordinaries, is

1887 11 0

The AUDIENCES.

The ROYAL AUDIENCE of CORUNNA.

A Governor, a Regent, 7 other Commissioners, a Fiscal, Secretary, and two Porters; the expence, including extraordinaries, is

3121 0 0

The ROYAL AUDIENCE of SEVILLE.

A Regent, 8 Commissioners, 4 Prevots, and other officers, as above; the expences, with the extraordinaries, are

2733 6 8

The ROYAL AUDIENCE of OVIEDO.

A Regent, 4 grand Prevots, an Alguazil major, and other officers, as above; the expence, including extraordinaries,

1755 11 0

The ROYAL AUDIENCE of the CANARIES.

A Governor, or Commandant-general, a Regent, 3 other Commissioners, and other officers, as above; the expence, with extraordinaries, is

2571 0 0

Carried over,	120,279	1	0
		The	

GREAT OFFICERS of SPAIN. 235

	l.	s.	d.
Brought over,	120,279	1	0

The ROYAL AUDIENCE of COMMERCE to the INDIES, at CADIZ.

A President, 4 Commissioners, a Fiscal, Great Treasurer, a Depositary, a Comptroller, a Secretary, and 2 Porters; the expence, with extraordinaries, 3301 0 0

The ROYAL AUDIENCE of ARRAGON.

A Governor, or Captain-general, a General-commandant, a Regent, 8 other Commissioners, 4 Judges, two Fiscals, an Alguazil major, a Secretary, and two Porters; the expence, with extraordinaries, being 4446 13 5

The ROYAL AUDIENCE of VALENCIA.

A Governor, or Captain-general, a Regent, 8 other Commissioners, 4 Criminal Commissioners, 2 Fiscals, an Alguazil, Secretary, and 2 Porters; the expences, including the extraordinaries, are 4024 9 0

The ROYAL AUDIENCE of CATALONIA.

A Governor, or Captain-general, a Regent, 10 other Commissioners, 6 Criminal Judges, 2 Fiscals, a Secretary, 2 Porters; the expences, including extraordinaries, are 4817 16 0

The ROYAL AUDIENCE of MAJORCA.

A Governor, or Captain-general, a Regent, 5 other Commissioners, a Secretary, Fiscal, and 2 Porters; the expences, with extraordinaries 2796 13 4

Carried over,	130,665	12	9
		The	

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over,	139,665	12	9

The GOVERNORS, SENESCHALS, and INTENDANTS of the Kingdom, are 139 in number.

The amount of all their salaries is	-	30,327	6	8
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The PRESIDIO's, or GARRISON'D FORTS.

First of ORAN, consisting of a General Commandant, a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Major, two Aid Majors, Captains Intendant, Secretary, and other Officers

The expence of the Convents there

The expence of the Hospital

The Castle of SANTA CRUZ

Castle of ST. PHILIP

Castle of ST. GREGORY

Castle of ST. ANDERO

ROZALCAZAR

ALMARZAQUIVIR

CEUTA

The Hospital

PEGNON

To the above must be added MELILLA, ALUZEINAS, and the Arsenals of CARTHAGENA

-	2,825	0	0
-	410	13	4
-	921	0	0
-	366	13	4
-	366	13	4
-	366	13	4
-	366	13	4
-	394	9	0
-	14,954	9	0
-	3,211	3	0
-	11,879	4	0
-	5,920	0	0
-	124,428	0	0
	<u>336,403</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>1</u>

PENSIONS paid out of the FINANCES of his CATHOLIC MAJESTY.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To the Queen Mother	100,000	0	0
	<u>100,000</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Carried over,	100,000	0	0
3			To

			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	Brought over,		100,000	0	0
To the Infant Don PHILIP (probably now discontinued.)	-	-	33,333	6	8
the Infant Don LEWIS	-	-	50,000	0	0
two Ministers of State, retired	-	-	2,666	13	4
two Widows of General Officers	-	-	266	13	4
several Persons employed in the Royal Service, by way of gratification during their life	-	-	5,666	13	4
other Widows	-	-	844	9	0
two superannuated Confessors	-	-	266	13	4
Alms fixed by his Majesty annually	-	-	1000	0	0
To the Great Treasurer of the Chamber of Pensions	-	-	244	9	0
the Officer Major	-	-	166	13	4
the second Officer	-	-	89	0	0
the Officer of the Books	-	-	66	13	4
other Officers	-	-	333	6	8
four Officers charged with the correspondence of the Kingdom	-	-	400	0	0
ten Clerks board-wages	-	-	166	13	4
a Treasurer, annually	-	-	139	0	0
an Intendant	-	-	222	5	5
a Porter of the Chamber	-	-	44	9	0
Extraordinaries annually	-	-	222	4	5
An annual payment of three per cent. of arrears of the Finances	-	-	6,889	0	0

The King's LIBRARY.

An annual assignment made by his Majesty for literary assemblies	-	-	1,555	11	0
To the first Librarian	-	-	333	6	8
four second Librarians	-	-	311	2	2
an Interpreter of Oriental Languages	-	-	111	2	2
six Clerks annually	-	-	133	6	8
			<hr/>		
Carried over,			205,472	12	2
			To		

			l.	s.	d.
		Brought over,	205,472	12	2
To three Porters	-	-	83	6	8
Extraordinaries	-	-	18	17	11

The ACADEMIES of the King.

To the support of the Academy of the Spanish Language	-	-	444	9	0
Do. of History	-	-	666	13	4
Do. of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture	-	-	1,333	6	8
Do. of Mathematics at CADIZ	-	-	1,888	17	10
Do. of Mathematics at BARCELONA	-	-	1,444	9	0

The PALACE and ROYAL FAMILY.

To the Squire of the Body	-	-	333	6	8
the Majordomo Major	-	-	333	6	8
the first Equerry	-	-	333	6	8
the second Equerry	-	-	167	0	0
the first Equerry of the Camp	-	-	167	0	0
the second Equerry of the Camp	-	-	111	2	2
the first Equerry of the Queen	-	-	167	0	0
the second	-	-	111	0	0
four Gentlemen of the Chamber of his Majesty peculiarly	-	-	444	9	0
six others of the Table	-	-	666	13	0
four Wardrobe Keepers	-	-	444	9	0
four Physicians	-	-	1,778	0	0
two Surgeons	-	-	666	13	4
two Apothecaries	-	-	333	6	8
the Household of the Pages	-	-	2,100	0	0
the Patriarch	-	-	1,111	2	2
two Confessors	-	-	889	0	0

Carried over, 221,509 7 11
To

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over,	221,509	7	11
To the Curate of the Palace	-	1,033	6 8
thirty-two Honorary Priests	-	3,555	11 0
the annual expence of the Sacrify, and of the Fabrick of the Chapel	-	3,666	13 4
For the subsistence of the Band of Musick for the Chapel	-	1,089	0 0
Gratuities to Ambassadors and other Ministers residing at foreign Courts	-	11,144	9 0
To the Camarera Major, or first Lady of the Bed-Chamber	-	333	6 8
four Camaristas	-	266	13 4
thirty-nine Ladies besides	-	1,266	13 4
800 other Domestics	-	39,111	2 2
The annual expence of the Kitchen by contract	-	4,444	9 0
The annual expence of the Pastery-Cook	-	1,433	6 8
Ditto of the Side-Board	-	333	6 8
Ditto of the Bake-House	-	333	6 8
Ditto of the Wardrobe	-	333	6 8
Ditto of the two Stables of the King and Queen	-	39,722	4 8
To small articles of House-keeping at the Palace	-	2,100	0 0
two Taylors	-	544	9 0
two Goldsmiths annually	-	666	13 4
four Painters of the King's Chamber	-	1,333	6 8
The annual expence of Counterpanes	-	777	15 0
Ditto of Tapestry and Furniture	-	555	11 0
The wages of the Grooms of the Stable	-	14,655	11 0
To four Valets de Chambre, Perruquiers	-	666	13 4
Coal, oil, wax-lights, wood, &c. annually	-	3,366	13 4

The APOTHECARY'S OFFICE.

To the Apothecary	-	333	6 8
a second Apothecary	-	111	2 2
different persons employed in that department	-	555	11 0

Carried over, 355,242 16 3

	l.	s.	d.
Brought over,	355,242	16	3
The annual expence of the Shop	-	2,444	9 0

The BOTANIC GARDENS of the King.

To the first Botanist annually	-	200	0 0
the second	-	66	13 4
the people employed in cultivating the same gardens	-	44	9 0

BUEN RETIRO.

To the first Gardener annually	-	66	13 4
four other Gardeners	-	44	9 0
extraordinaries for cultivation and planting	-	66	13 4
the first Gardener for flowers	-	66	13 4
four other Gardeners	-	44	9 0
extraordinaries	-	88	17 10
For the maintenance of the house where the Lion, Tygers, Eagle, and other animals are kept	-	88	17 10
To an Assistant	-	33	6 8
the subsistence of the said animals	-	644	9 0

ARANJUEZ.

To the Governor of ARANJUEZ	-	366	13 4
the Keeper of the Magazine	-	133	6 8
the Guard Major	-	100	0 0
fifty-four other Guards	-	1,100	0 0
four Gardeners	-	533	6 8
ten supernumerary Gardeners	-	333	6 8
six Keepers of the Palace	-	200	0 0
extraordinaries	-	3,500	0 0

Carried over, 365,409 10 3

PARDO.

Annual Produce of TOBACCO, &c. 241

l. s. d.
Brought over, 365,409 10 3

P A R D O.

For supporting the woods and gardens at the
Pardo annually - 2,100 0 0

SAN ILDEPHONSO.

For supporting the Gardens of SAN ILDE-
PHONSO annually - 2,666 13 4

The ESCURIAL.

For supporting the Gardens of the Escorial 889 0 0

CASA DEL CAMPO.

For the support of the Casa del Campo annually 14,622 4 8

385,687 8 3

The Annual Produce of TOBACCO in each Province.

			l.	s.	d.
In the CANARIES	-	-	17,386	13	4
MADRID	-	-	217,152	0	0
BURGOS	-	-	82,222	4	9
VALLADOLID	-	-	137,666	13	4
SORIA	-	-	13,505	11	0
CORUNNA	-	-	34,111	2	2
the FOUR CITIES	-	-	12,222	4	5
SEGOVIA	-	-	26,811	2	2
AVILA	-	-	10,125	11	0
TOLEDO	-	-	12,127	15	7
GUADALAXARA	-	-	19,777	15	4
			483,108	13	1
Carried over,					
I i 2					In

			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
		Brought over,	483,108	13	1
In CUENÇA	-	-	12,388	17	10
TALAVERA	-	-	14,444	8	10
MANCHA	-	-	33,465	11	0
SALAMANCA	-	-	24,783	6	8
ESTREMADURA	-	-	87,666	13	4
GALICIA	-	-	51,111	2	2
ASTURIAS	-	-	39,333	6	8
SEVILLE	-	-	34,222	4	5
CORDOVA	-	-	25,222	4	5
JAEN	-	-	28,839	0	0
CADIZ	-	-	37,902	4	5
GRANADA	-	-	37,520	0	0
MALAGA, and the Garrifons	-	-	37,944	8	10
MURCIA	-	-	23,220	0	0
ARRAGON	-	-	37,445	11	0
CATALONIA	-	-	39,924	8	10
VALENCIA	-	-	36,444	8	10
MAJORCA	-	-	12,195	11	0
NAVARRA	-	-	24,640	0	0
			<u>1,221,820</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>

The Annual Produce of the Post-Office in every Province.

			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
LA MANCHA	-	-	9,555	11	0
MADRID	-	-	140,077	15	7
GALICIA	-	-	8,491	8	10
ASTURIAS	-	-	10,088	17	10
VALLADOLID	-	-	5,917	15	7
ZAMORA	-	-	1,322	4	5
SEVILLE	-	-	10,666	13	4
GRANADA	-	-	9,766	13	4
			<u>195,889</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>11</u>
		Carried over,			
					CORDOVA.

			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
		Brought over,	195,889	19	11
CORDOVA	-	-	8,888	17	10
JAEN	-	-	4,777	15	7
SORIA	-	-	1,944	13	4
SEGOVIA	-	-	1,100	0	0
BISCAY	-	-	17,777	15	6
GUIPUSCOA	-	-	11,966	13	4
ALAVA	-	-	11,555	11	0
ARRAGON	-	-	12,348	17	10
VALENCIA	-	-	21,177	17	10
CATALONIA	-	-	16,700	0	0
MAJORCA	-	-	8,451	2	2
BURGOS	-	-	9,393	6	8
TOLEDO	-	-	10,314	8	10
LEON	-	-	961	2	2
SALAMANCA	-	-	10,333	6	8
AVILA	-	-	753	6	8
PALENCIA	-	-	555	11	0
TORO	-	-	411	2	3
CANARIES	-	-	9,638	17	10
BADAJOS	-	-	4,488	17	10
MURCIA	-	-	7,777	15	0
GUADALAXARA	-	-	588	17	10
CUENZA	-	-	766	13	4
			<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
			368,562	10	5
			<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

The Annual Produce of the PROVINCIAL FARMS, or MILLIONS, by Provinces.

			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
LA MANCHA	-	-	22,888	17	10
MADRID	-	-	45,500	0	0
GALICIA	-	-	45,222	4	5
ASTURIAS	-	-	22,822	4	5
			<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Carried over,			136,433	6	8
			VALLA-		

244 Annual Produce of the GENERAL FARMS

			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
		Brought over,	136,433	6	8
VALLADOLID	-		45,377	15	5
ZAMORA	-		22,555	11	0
SEVILLE	-		34,588	17	10
GRANADA	-		24,657	15	5
CORDOVA	-		27,080	0	0
JAEN	-		33,555	11	0
SORIA	-		45,444	8	10
SEGOVIA	-		45,333	6	8
BISCAY	-		22,975	11	0
ALAVA	-		47,066	13	4
GUIPUSCOA	-		49,111	2	2
ARAGON	-		70,004	8	10
VALENCIA	-		68,890	0	0
CATALONIA	-		66,786	13	4
MAJORCA	-		35,343	6	8
BURGOS	-		23,777	15	5
TOLEDO	-		22,388	17	10
LEON	-		23,500	0	0
SALAMANCA	-		22,888	17	10
AVILA	-		23,477	15	7
PALENCIA	-		48,222	4	5
TORO	-		50,888	17	10
CANARIES	-		128,262	4	5
BADAJOS	-		45,333	6	8
MURCIA	-		55,888	17	10
GUADALAXARA	-		56,333	6	8
CUENCA	-		34,222	4	5
			<hr/>		
			1,310,888	17	2
			<hr/>		

The Annual Produce of the GENERAL FARMS in each Province.

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
MADRID	-	150,000	0	0
GALICIA	-	182,222	4	5
		<hr/>		
		Carried over,	332,222	4 5
		ASTURIAS		

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	Brought over,	332,222	4	5
ASTURIAS	-	108,888	17	10
VALLADOLID	-	110,000	0	0
ZAMORA	-	54,444	8	10
SEVILLE	-	57,777	15	6
GRANADA	-	91,111	2	2
CORDOVA	-	70,000	0	0
JAEN	-	52,222	4	5
SORIA	-	24,444	8	10
SEGOVIA	-	42,222	4	5
BISCAY	-	48,888	17	10
ALAVA	-	42,222	4	5
GUIPUSCOA	-	40,066	13	4
ARAGON,	-	217,933	6	8
VALENCIA	-	230,262	4	5
CATALONIA	-	221,130	0	0
MAJORCA	-	54,222	4	5
BURGOS	-	38,288	17	10
TOLEDO	-	40,144	8	10
LEON	-	21,222	4	5
SALAMANCA	-	29,111	2	2
AVILA	-	15,888	17	10
PALENCIA	-	21,666	13	4
TORO	-	21,777	15	7
CANARIES	-	98,777	15	7
BADAJOS	-	47,888	17	10
MURCIA	-	110,177	15	7
GUADALAJARA	-	32,435	11	0
CUENZA	-	19,377	15	7
LA MANCHA	-	235,811	2	2
		<hr/>		
		2,530,627	15	3
		<hr/>		

*A GENERAL RECAPITULATION of the receiving and issuing of
the FINANCES.*

The Annual REVENUE.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
B Y the produce of Tobacco - -	1,221,820	0	6
Ditto of the Post-Office - -	368,562	10	5
Ditto of the Provincial Farms, under which are included all kind of taxes that are paid upon the following six kinds of vivres : bread, oil, wine, fat, flesh meat, soap ; which taxes are renewed every six years ; and under this head is also comprehended the Alcavalas, and other rights and taxes	1,310,888	17	2
Ditto of the General Farms, in which are in- cluded, besides the customs, the duties on wool, the admiralties, rights of fanity, cards, mercuries, brandy, lead, gun-powder, &c.	2,530,627	15	3
Total of the Revenue	<u>5,431,899</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>

The Annual EXPENCE.

For the subsistence of the Land Army of 91,311 men, including the general officers of Artillery - -	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	1,035,488	19	7
Ditto of the Naval Forces, consisting of 45,810 men, in pay - -	714,561	6	7
Ditto of the Tribunals at MADRID, and through the whole kingdom, with the sa- laries of the Seneichals, Governors, and In- tendants, in all 1800 men, in actual pay	169,992	19	5
Ditto of the Garrisons, 7158 men -	166,410	11	8
Carried over,	<u>2,086,453</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>3</u>
*		For	

OF THE SPANISH REVENUES. 247

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over,	2,086,453	17	3
For the subsistence of 23,300 men, employed in the farms of Tobacco	-	317,402	4 5
Ditto of 18,000 men, employed in the Post-Office	-	50,368	9 0
Ditto of 11,500 men, employed in the Provincial farms	-	53,240	0 0
Ditto of 19,000 men, employed in the General Farms	-	64,458	17 10
Pensions paid out of the Finances	-	211,352	12 7
The expence of the Palace and Royal Family	-	174,334	5 8
Total of the Annual Expence,	2,957,610	6	9

The RECAPITULATION.

The Annual Revenue	-	5,431,899	3 4
The Annual Expence	-	2,957,610	6 9
Remains free	2,474,288	16	7

R E M A R K S.

THE *General Farms* are the customs, the sale of tobacco, salt, lead, and quick-silver; the post office; licences to vessels which trade to AMERICA; stamped paper; and some other particulars, specified at full length in USTARITZ. The greatest number of the taxes called general, such as tobacco, salt, and the customs, are under the management of a board for the King's behalf, and increase daily since they have been so regulated. The revenue from tobacco in particular, has increased annually a million of crowns vellon, or 111,111 *l.* sterling, since 1739, that the management was regulated according to the plan drawn up by Don MARTIN DE LOYNAZ. That Administrator-General gave security for the augmentation, which he proposed, but was freed from all obligation at the end of one year, when he proved, that the sales had amounted to eleven millions of rials more than usual. He increased the tax upon the best sorts of tobacco ten rials, and in the same degree lessened the tax upon the worst, which are purchased by the common people. The clergy, as

K k

well

well as the other members of the state, are subject to the general taxes, because they are looked upon as rights of regality or sovereignty. They pay besides, the taxes of the *Crusado*, *Subsidio*, and *Escusado*, valued at 155,555 l. sterling.

THE farm of the *Provincial Taxes* respects only the twenty-two provinces of the crown of CASTILLE, and includes several branches. 1st, The tax of *Alcavala*, established in 1341. This is ten *per cent.* upon every thing sold or exchanged, even upon land revenues, and all kinds of rents, with an augmentation of four additional taxes of one *per cent.* imposed each, successively in 1639, 1642, 1656, 1664.

UPON sales at first hand, the farmer of the Revenues requires only ten *per cent.* but upon sales in retail, fourteen *per cent.* is required. The regulation however does not appear to be uniform, since, according to USTARITZ, there is not more than between six or seven *per cent.* collected by this tax. Later writers nevertheless estimate this tax as I have done. After all, as the tax is repeated upon each sale, we may reasonably conclude, that every thing has at least paid the whole tax once, notwithstanding any abatement in the valuation. The clergy are not subject to this tax in their sales; on the contrary, they are allowed a discount in valuing the produce of their lands, or upon those things which are designed for their own consumption; and when they again sell that produce, they have the advantage of the rest of the King's subjects in the proportion of the whole tax. Those of the clergy, who have no lands, or who buy in retail, pay the tax, as it is included in the price of the commodity.

THE second branch is the tax called *Millones*, with the additional taxes, known under the name of the new imposts. This tax began in 1590, when a service or subsidy of eight millions of ducats was granted to PHILIP II. by the States of CASTILE. In 1601 the same States granted an annual service of four millions of ducats during the course of six years. It was called the service of twenty-four millions, and the necessities of the monarchy have obliged it to be continued ever since. Of these
twenty-

twenty-four millions, four and one half were laid upon the price of salt, and the payment of the remainder was laid upon the price of wine, vinegar, oil, and butchers meat. The liquid measure called an *arrobe*, is composed of eight parts, named *axumbres*. One of these eights belongs to the King, and the proprietor is obliged to pay it according to the valuation of the seven remaining parts, including even the advance of price, by reason of this excise; by which means the *arrobe* sold under the name of eight *axumbres*, really contains only seven, and its subdivisions are in the same proportion. These taxes are farmed at 892,888 l. sterling.

THERE are also other taxes that may be included under the general title of provincial taxes, such as the tax upon brandy, upon soap, upon snow, upon cards, and other small articles. These taxes are farmed at 91,244 l. sterling.

ALMOST all the taxes of SPAIN, we may observe, are laid upon things consumed by the people, in the manner of a general excise; and those included under the name of provincial taxes, in a more particular manner affect the necessary and daily consumption of all ranks of men. In SPAIN the general outcry, and the groans of the people, have been excited by these provincial taxes. At present the ministry are labouring to make some reformation upon them, and they are only continued till something better can be established in their place.

DON MIGUEL DE ZABALA, in a memorial presented to PHILIP V. in 1734, demonstrates, that though the provincial taxes, on the lowest computation, amount to *seventy-six millions of rials vellon*, and though there is reason to think that sum is raised upon the people, yet only *seven* millions come into the King's exchequer.

THE *Juros* are perpetual rights of propriety, or in other words, pensions which the King pays to his subjects out of his own finances, by a temporal favour, by the endowment of some foundation, or for the reward of merit and services. Sometimes the

Juros mean a deduction of three *per cent.* from all the King's finances.

THE *Media Annata*, which is the same as our *First Fruits* is a tax of one half of the first years revenue, paid on every new succession to any ecclesiastical dignity or benefice. All lucrative or honourable employments, held from the King during life, are subject to this tax.

BESIDES the above-mentioned revenues, a general view of which (exclusive of the *Juros* and *Media Annata*) I have given in the *Recapitulation*; SPAIN likewise receives others that are very considerable from the *Indies*. The amount of these *per annum* is about 900,000 *l.* sterling, consequently there is said to remain free annually in the royal treasury, about 3,373,288 *l.* sterling.

LETTER

L E T T E R XIII.

A short View of the *Commerce* and *Manufactures* of
SPAIN, so far as they relate to GREAT BRITAIN.

I HAVE been informed from good authority, that our trade with Old and New SPAIN is full one third less than it was about forty years ago; and that the balance and exchange, between SPAIN and GREAT BRITAIN, are every day more and more turning against the latter kingdom. The causes of this decrease are indeed not at all difficult to be discovered or accounted for. Part of it is owing to the extreme avarice and extortion of our own merchants, who, not contented with moderate profits, have kept up the prices of their goods beyond their just proportion, and thereby opened a door for the French and Dutch to undersell us at the Spanish markets. Another reason is, that the price of labour in those two countries, is considerably lower than in our own, which enables them likewise to afford their goods to the Spaniards at a much cheaper rate than we can do. A third reason is, the alteration introduced during the Spanish war in Queen ANNE's time, when the French crept into that trade, and deprived us of a greater share of it than we shall probably be ever able to recover. A fourth reason may be, the progress which the Spaniards themselves have made in some branches of manufacture; for the encouragement which the Kings of the House of BOURBON have given to manufactures and arts, has excited some few Spaniards to apply themselves to industry and trade. For several years past, the ministry in SPAIN have endeavoured, by means of foreign workmen, to set on foot various manufactures; and

and the great attention they have given to that object, has not been altogether without effect. But at present, by a strange infatuation, the minister to whose department the care of the manufactures belongs, not only neglects, but discourages them; and they consequently decline very fast.

THE state of trade between GREAT BRITAIN and SPAIN, in the time of JOSHUA GEE, was as follows. Our *Exports* to SPAIN were, 1. Broad cloths. 2. Druggets. 3. Callimancoes. 4. Bays. 5. Stuffs. 6. Leather. 7. Baccalao, or salted fish. 8. Tin. 9. Lead. 10. Corn. Our returns from SPAIN were in, 1. Wines. 2. Oil. 3. Fruits. 4. Wool. 5. Indigo. 6. Logwood. 7. Cochineal. 8. Materials for dying. Mr. GEE has taken no notice of *silk* in this account, and for a good reason; for the exportation of it from SPAIN was not permitted till 1760, and then limited to the ports of BARCELONA, ALICANT, and CARTHAGENA, from the 16th of November to the 16th of May every year, there being no exportation allowed during the other six months, that the manufacturers may have leisure to take care of their fabrics,

WE used about that period to take off at least two thirds of all the produce of SPAIN, which made our manufactures an easy purchase to the Spaniards, who nevertheless paid us a very considerable balance in bullion.

SINCE the accession of the House of BOURBON, this balance in our favour has been daily declining. For many years past we have ceased to be considered as *the favoured nation*; and FRANCE now shares a great part of the gold and silver of the Spanish West-Indies, in return for her silk, her linen, and other manufactures introduced into SPAIN.

THE infamous peace of UTRECHT was hardly signed, when we began to feel the effects of a *predilection*, which the Spaniards discovered towards the French nation; so that a *Family Compact*, if things be justly considered, will appear no novelty. This will be evident enough from the following curious extracts from

the letters of several English gentlemen, relating to that point :
 —Mr. POULDON, the English Consul at the CANARIES, in a letter dated from TENERIFF, the 22d of March 1715, and addressed to Sir PAUL METHUEN, then minister at MADRID, says, “ Since the suspension of arms, the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, in the CANARIES, have been continually oppressed. The bishop of GERONDA had published an order in the name of the King, in virtue of which order all British vessels were to pay only the ordinary duties ; but since the arrival of the new General, this order is explained in a new manner. They exclude from being comprehended in it all kinds of merchandize, which, as they pretend, are not properly English manufactures, although transported by and in English vessels. In consequence of this explanation of the order, the subjects of his Majesty have paid lately, upwards of 3000 pounds sterling.”

THE following are the words of Mr. KEEN, our consul at ALICANT, in a letter to Mr. STANHOPE at MADRID. “ By an express order of the court, published here by the governor of VALENCIA, all foreigners are obliged in lieu of the Alcabalas and Millones, to pay a duty named *quartals*, which amounts to 14 *per cent.* and is to begin with the year 1714, for merchandize, on which the duties have already been paid, at the rate of 15 *per cent.* so that we must at present pay 29 *per cent.* for the entry of all kinds of merchandize. Besides the exorbitancy of these duties, this proceeding is attended with another inconvenience ; for the factors have already regulated their accounts with the merchants, on the footing of 15 *per cent.* Moreover, those who refuse to pay these duties, are exposed to be quartered upon by soldiers, and to give them so much *per day* till such time as the duties be paid. These are unheard of demands, which were never before made upon any subjects of GREAT BRITAIN, who never paid more than 7½ *per cent.* under the reign of CHARLES II. the last prince of the Austrian line.”

SIR MARTIN WESTCOMB, and consul RUSSEL, in a letter to Sir PAUL METHUEN, at MADRID, dated the 22d of May 1715, express themselves thus: "The alteration they have made in regard to the duties which were paid in the reign of CHARLES II. has interrupted our trade, and will infallibly ruin it. Don JUAN ANTONIO ZAVALOS has caused an order to be published, by which all the favours granted to our merchants, and constantly enjoyed by them, are revoked; so that for the future all merchandize must pay all the duties of entry and export, according to the valuation of the tariffs, which in some kinds of merchandize will amount to 25 *per cent.* and in others even to 28."

THE rigorous and oppressive impositions, complained of in these letters, were not only contrary to several treaties, made and concluded between GREAT BRITAIN and SPAIN, but also to the engagements of LEWIS XIV. who, in the name of SPAIN, and in quality of plenipotentiary of his Grandson, previous to the suspension of arms, promised to the English,

"FIRST, That all the advantages, rights, and privileges, which the Spaniards had granted, or might in time to come grant to the French, or to the *most favoured nation*, should be granted to the subjects of GREAT BRITAIN.

"SECONDLY, That all merchandize of the growth and manufacture of GREAT BRITAIN, that should be sent to the INDIES from the ports of SPAIN, should be exempt from the duties of entry and export in SPAIN, and from those of entry in the INDIES. And that these conditions and these promises should be extended in the treaty of peace, in the most ample and convenient manner."

LEWIS and PHILIP had hardly gained their ends, by these promises, than they took off the mask, and interpreted them, as it best suited their own advantage; for even before the peace between the two Crowns was entirely settled, Lord LEXINGTON wrote home to the following purpose: "Affairs are not here
" upon

“ upon the same footing on which they were before the suspension of arms; for the King has told me in express terms, We know that peace is as necessary to you as to us, and that you will not break with us for trifles.”——

THE chief of the *Treaties*, mentioned above as infringed upon by PHILIP, and which relates to the general state of commerce between GREAT BRITAIN and SPAIN, is that of 1667: for the treaty of 1670 chiefly respects AMERICA. It was regulated by the treaty of 1667, that the trading subjects of either crown should reciprocally pay no higher imposts and duties, than the inhabitants of the places themselves, where the goods were bought or freighted, usually paid; that they should enjoy the same privileges as the natural subjects of each country enjoyed; that it should not be lawful in either kingdom, under any pretence whatever, to detain the traders in the ports or harbours, or after their departure to sue at law their factors or merchants, on account of any merchandize put on board their vessels; that English vessels arriving in the ports of SPAIN, or others, subject to the dominion of that crown, should be exempted from all visit or search of officers of contraband merchandize; that any ships belonging either to SPAIN or ENGLAND, might, if it suited their convenience, land part of their cargo, in any road, and proceed to sea with the remainder, without giving any account to the custom-house; and that, in return for merchandize sold, the payments should not be made in *copper money*, or in any other specie, but what the merchants should actually agree for. There is no occasion to mention any more articles of this famous treaty, since from those already given, it is sufficiently evident, that the trade was settled upon a footing very advantageous to both parties: and I cannot help wishing, that each nation saw so clearly their mutual interest in the observance of every article of this treaty, as might tempt them to form, upon the same principles, such a solid *Commercial Compact*, as should never be dissolved.

NOTWITHSTANDING the arts of French insinuation, our traffic with SPAIN is very considerable, and chiefly in the following articles.—We export to that country large quantities

of dried and salted fish, called by them *bacalas*; likewise broad cloths, and woollen stuffs of various kinds to a great amount; silk stuffs, cutlery ware, warlike and naval stores, particularly cables and anchors; also watches, wrought brass, and prince's metal, toys, mathematical instruments, cabinet work, particularly of mahogany, wrought and unwrought tin, leather, lead, corn, dry and salted meat, cattle, butter, cheese, beer, hats; linen, vitriol, pepper, rice, and other products of our American Colonies; and, if we attended to it, we might supply them with great quantities of timber from those Colonies, as the Spaniards, tho' they have in some parts fine woods of excellent oak, yet from their inexpertness in felling trees, and want of roads, are in a manner entirely deprived of the use of them.

FROM SPAIN we receive the following articles: Wines, oil, vinegar, fruits of various kinds, viz. olives, raisins of the sun, raisins dried with ashes, called by them *passas de lexia*; raisins from ALMUNEGAR, a city on the coast of ANDALUSIA, famous for that produce; chefnuts, almonds, figs, citrons, lemons, oranges, cacao-nuts, Spanish pepper, pomegranates, fine wool, indigo, cochineal, materials for dying, kali, or barillia, and sosa, for the making of soap and glass, chiefly from ALICANT; quicksilver; some wrought silks, particularly from VALENTIA; and of late raw silk, balsam of Peru, vanillas, cake-chocolate of GUAJACA, salsaparilla, salted sea-brizzle, saltpetre, salt from CADIZ, salt from PORT ST. MARY'S, woollen counterpanes, and a remarkable fine sort of blankets from SEGOVIA, iron from BISCAY, sword blades, particularly from TOLEDO, gun and pistol barrels from GUIPUSCOA and BARCELONA, vermilion, borax, hams, snuff from SEVILLE and the HAVANNAH, soap, formerly a considerable article, but as we now make it ourselves, only a trifle, tho' there is still much of it annually run into SCOTLAND; and several roots and drugs of the growths of SPAIN and AMERICA, employed in medicine.

I HAVE not specified the *logwood* as an article of *importation* from SPAIN; for however it may have been such formerly, we may now hope to supply ourselves with it; as it appears by the

XVI. article of the present Preliminaries of Peace; that we have at length happily obtained the free and unmolested liberty of cutting it in the Bay of HONDURAS, on condition of demolishing all our fortifications erected there, and in other parts of Spanish AMERICA. But I could wish, that the liberty of cutting it had also been extended in express terms to the Bay of CAMPEACHY. Those who know the value of this article, will receive great pleasure on seeing it now well settled; for whatever our pretensions were, we certainly had but a very disputable title to this important branch of trade; and this will even appear from the perusal of the memorial of the Board of Trade, laid before his Majesty GEORGE I. and drawn up expressly to prove that claim.

THE Spanish trade to SOUTH AMERICA is carried on by annual ships, usually divided into three classes, the *Flota*, the *Register Ships*, and *Galleons*; of which the following is the most accurate account I could meet with.

THE *Flota* is a fleet consisting of three men of war, and fourteen or fifteen merchant ships, from 400 to 1000 tuns burthen; they are loaded almost with every sort of goods which EUROPE produces for export; all sorts of woollens, linens, silks, velvets, laces, glass, paper, and cutlery; all sorts of wrought iron, watches, clocks, quicksilver for the use of their miners, horse-furniture, shoes, stockings, books, pictures, military stores, wines, fruits, &c. so that all the trading parts of EUROPE are highly interested in the cargo of this fleet. SPAIN itself sends out little more than the wine and fruit; this, with the freight, and commissions to the merchant, and the duty to the King, is almost all the advantage, which that kingdom derives from her commerce with the INDIES. This fleet is fitted out at CADIZ, and bound to LA VERA CRUZ: they are not permitted to break bulk on any account, till they arrive there. When all the goods are landed and disposed of at LA VERA CRUZ, the fleet takes in the plate, precious stones, cochineal, indigo, cacao, tobacco, sugar, and hides, which are the returns for Old SPAIN. From LA VERA CRUZ they sail to the HAVANNA in the Island of CUBA, which is the place of their rendezvous, where they meet the

Galleons. These are another fleet, which carry on all the trade of TERRA FIRMA, by CARTHAGENA, and of PERU, by PANAMA and PORTOBELLO, in the same manner as the *Flota* serves for the trade of New SPAIN. When the *Flota* arrives at the HAVANNAH, and joins the *Galleons* and Register ships, which assemble at the same port from all quarters, some of the cleanest and best sailing vessels are dispatched to Old SPAIN with advice of the contents of these several *fleets*, as well as with treasure and goods of their own, that the court may judge what *indulto*, or duty, is proper to be laid on them, and what convoy is necessary for their safety.

REGISTER *ships* are sent out by merchants at CADIZ or SEVILLE, when they judge that goods must be wanted at any certain port in the WEST-INDIES. The course is, to petition the council of the INDIES for licence to send a ship of 300 tons burthen, or under, to that port: they pay for this licence 40,000, or 50,000 dollars, besides presents to the officers, in proportion to the connivance necessary to their design. For tho' the licence runs only to 300 tons at most, the vessel fitted out is seldom less than 600. This ship and cargo are registered at the pretended burthen. It is required too, that a certificate be brought from the King's officer at the port to which the register ship is bound, that she does not exceed the size at which she is registered; all this passes of course. These are what they call *Register ships*, and by these the trade of Spanish AMERICA has been carried on principally for some years past: which practice has been thought as much to the prejudice of their trade, as it is contrary to all their former maxims for carrying it on.

LA VERA CRUZ is situated on the south-west part of the Gulph of MEXICO, and to the south-east of that city.

THE fleet which is called *the Galleons*, consists of eight men of war of 500 tons each, designed principally to supply PERU with military stores; but in reality laden, not only with those, but with every other kind of merchandize on a private account, so as to be in too weak a condition either to defend themselves,

or

or protect others. Under the convoy of these are twelve fail of merchant ships, not inferior to the Galleons in burthen. This fleet of the *Galleons* is regulated in much the same manner with the *Flota*, and is destined for the *exclusive* commerce of TERRA FIRMA, and the SOUTH-SEA, as the *Flota* is for that of MEXICO.

As soon as this *Galleon* fleet arrives at CARTHAGENA, expresses are dispatched to PORTOBELLO, and to all the adjacent towns, but particularly to PANAMA, that they may get ready all the treasure which is deposited there, to meet the Galleons at PORTOBELLO; at which place all the persons concerned in the various branches of this extensive trade, assemble. There is no part of the world where business of such great importance is negotiated in so short a time; for in a fortnight the fair is over. During the fair, heaps of wedges and ingots of silver are thrown about upon the wharfs, as things of no value. The display of gold, silver, and precious stones on one hand, and of the various and rare workmanship of the several ingenious fabrics of EUROPE on the other, are truly astonishing.

CARTHAGENA is situated on the most northern point of TERRA FIRMA: PORTOBELLO and PANAMA are on the opposite sides of the Isthmus of DARIEN; the first on the north-east side, and the other on the south-west.

THE whole trade between the EAST INDIES and Spanish AMERICA, is carried on by one great Galleon, which arrives at ACAPULCO from the PHILIPPINE islands, on the coast of CHIINA, in the month of December. They see no other land in their whole voyage of 3000 leagues, which they perform in five months, than the LITTLE LADRONES. The ship is laden with all the rich commodities of the East, as cloves, pepper, cinnamon, nutmegs, mace, china, japan wares, calicoes plain and painted, muslins of every sort, silks, precious stones, rich drugs, and gold dust. At the same time the rich ship from LIMA

comes in, and is not computed to bring less than two millions of pieces of eight in silver, (450,000 l. Sterl.) Several other ships, from the different parts of CHILI and PERU, meet upon the same occasion; and besides the traffic for the Philippine commodities, this causes a very large dealing for every thing which those countries have to exchange with one another, as well as for the purchase of all sorts of European goods. The fair at ACAPULCO lasts sometimes for thirty days. As soon as the goods are disposed of, the galleon prepares to set out on her voyage to the PHILIPPINES with her returns, chiefly in silver, but with some European goods too, and some other commodities of AMERICA. I speak here, as though there were but one vessel on the trade with the PHILIPPINES; and in fact there is only nominally *one* trading vessel, the galleon itself, of about 1200 tons; but another attends her commonly as a sort of convoy, which generally carries such a quantity of goods, as in great measure disables her from performing that office. The galleon has often above 1000 people on board, either interested in the cargo, or merely passengers; and there is no trade in which so large profits are made; the captain of the vessel, the pilots, the mates, and even the common sailors, making, in one voyage, what in their several ranks may be considered as easy fortunes. It is said by the writer of Lord ANSON's voyage, that the Jesuits have the profits of this ship to support their missions.

THIS commerce to so vast a value, though carried on directly between different parts of the King of SPAIN's own dominions, enriches them in proportion but very little; the far greater part of every thing which comes from the PHILIPPINES, being the produce, or fabric of other countries. The Spaniards add none of the artificial value of labour to any thing. The Chinese are largely interested in this cargo; and it is to them they are indebted for the manufacturing such of their plate, as is wrought into any better fashion than rude ingots, or inelegant coins. When this ACAPULCO Fair is over, the town is comparatively deserted; however, it remains for the whole year the most considerable port in MEXICO for the trade with PERU and CHILI, which is not very great.

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The East-India goods brought here are carried on truces to MEXICO, from whence what exceeds their own consumption is sent by land-carriage to LA VERA CRUZ, to pass over to TERRA FIRMA, to the islands, and some even to OLD SPAIN, tho' in no great quantity.

ACAPULCO lies two hundred miles south of MEXICO, on the SOUTH SEA. MEXICO, though no port, nor communicating with the sea by any navigable river, has a prodigious commerce, and is itself the center of all the trade that is carried on between AMERICA and EUROPE, on one hand, and between AMERICA and the EAST INDIES on the other; for here the principal merchants reside, the greatest part of the business is negotiated, and the goods that pass from ACAPULCO to LA VERA CRUZ, or from LA VERA CRUZ to ACAPULCO, for the use of the PHILIPPINES, and in a great measure for the use of PERU and LIMA, all pass through this city, and employ an incredible number of horses and mules in the carriage: Hither all the gold and silver is sent to be coined; here the king's fifth is deposited; and here is wrought all that immense quantity of utensils, and ornaments in plate, which is every year sent into EUROPE. Every thing here has the greatest air of magnificence and wealth. The shops glitter on all sides with the exposure of gold, silver, and jewels, and surprize yet more by the work of the imagination upon the treasures which fill great chests piled up to the ceilings, whilst they wait the time of being sent to OLD SPAIN.

THE trade between SPAIN and her colonies in AMERICA, which has been just described, is the most considerable part of their external commerce, and the great support of their navy; for, till our late breach with FRANCE, very few of their ships navigated into foreign parts; and the chief source that supplied the balance of their trade with other nations, arose from this branch. Their *internal* traffic is by no means proportionate to the numbers of their people, the natural advantages of their situation and climate, the abundance of raw materials which the country produces, and their INDIES supply them with; especially when we reflect on the many years of peace which they have enjoyed,

joyed, and that commerce was never so much considered by the several European states, as it is in the present age.

THE great error of the SPANISH policy seems to be this; they never sufficiently attended to the truth of the following political maxim, That industry, manual labour, and the arts, are more beneficial, and truer sources of wealth to a state, than the richest mines of gold and silver. Dazzled with the spoils of AMERICA, they turned their whole attention to seize the exclusive possession of those seeming riches; they neglected agriculture and manufactures, and contracted a contempt for the mechanic, and even liberal arts; in consequence of which, the country becoming daily less populous, their maritime and military strength soon declined. Of late years the Spanish ministry hath been fully sensible of this fatal mistake, and hath endeavoured to raise a spirit of industry among the people, by promoting the establishment of manufactures, in various parts of the kingdom: But though they have tempted the people, by exemption from taxes, and many other privileges, yet the progress they have made is not so considerable as might have been expected.

THEIR most remarkable manufactures are the following; the woollen fabrics are carried on at SEGOVIA, where they made, in the year 1759, 7,400 pieces of cloth, of 30, 60, and 80 bars in length; also at *Valdemoro*, *Guadalajara*, *Saragosa*, *Agulada*, and *Barcelona*. The woollen manufactures owe much of their present establishment, as USTARITZ tells us, to the care and encouragement of the DUKE DE RIPERDA, who had the direction of them in the year 1724. The old silk manufactures are chiefly in *Andalusia*, *Valencia*, and *Murcia*. Those in *Catalonia* are more modern. The principal one of all is at *Talavera de la Reyna*, in NEW CASTILE, for the richest gold and silver tissues. At *Madrid* there is also a manufacture of tissues, lutestrings, and other flight silks. There is a manufacture of linen at *Corunna*, said to supply the King's table; another of linen at *Segovia*. At *Madrid* is lately set up a manufacture of porcelain, in the gardens of the King's palace of the *Retiro*, wrought by Artificers brought from SAXONY. There is likewise in that city a new manufacture of
good

good tapestry, and of cards, as the finest cards of all, which are made at *Barcelona*, are there prohibited. The fabric of glass is at *St. Ildefonso*, that of swords is at *Toledo*, and those of iron in *Biscay*; that of paper at *Segovia*. The pottery fabrics are very numerous and excellent, particularly that of *Talavera de la Reyna*. The looms of silk, wool, and linen, in all the kingdoms, are said to be 20,000; but whether that account be exact, I cannot presume to say.

THAT their manufactures are not now more considerable, is not *solely* owing to their indolence, and the other causes above-mentioned, but likewise to the oppressive spirit of that superstition which reigns there, under the mask of religion. This will be evident from the following extract of a memorial, presented by EMMANUEL DE LIRA, first secretary of state to CHARLES II. which breathes such a spirit of patriotism and toleration, that I persuade myself it will be very acceptable to the reader. DE LIRA having, in his memorial, proposed the establishment of a general company of commerce, in which all foreigners that pleased should be allowed to be sharers, adds,

“ THERE is only one obstacle on our side, that can prevent the establishment of the company. It is, I confess, great, but nevertheless very easy to be surmounted, especially by your majesty, when you are once informed, that the removing of that obstacle would be a means of remedying several abuses introduced among us, and also of preventing the daily profanation of our most sacred mysteries. This obstacle arises from the law established in these kingdoms, and from the decrees and edicts of the holy tribunal of the Inquisition, against the Jews, and against heresy!

“ I KNOW, Sir, that it is the greatest glory of SPAIN, that it is the only nation which keeps itself pure in the faith of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman church; it is this which gives your Majesty the just title of Catholic Monarch, which you so worthily possess. I likewise know, that there is not a more holy, nor a more salutary institution than that of the holy tribunal; but

I shall endeavour to make it appear, that by granting the liberty of commerce to heretics, and even to Jews, no prejudice could from thence result to SPAIN, nor to the glorious title of Catholic King, nor to the laws and prerogatives of the Inquisition.

“ My reputation is unfulfilled, and I flatter myself that nobody will suspect me, as to my soundness in the Catholic Faith. I am evidently a zealous and true Catholic, by presuming to propose to your Majesty to grant liberty of conscience in these your kingdoms, as such a liberty would prevent a great many profanations that are daily committed.

“ Is it not a truth, Sir, that all the prisons of the Inquisition throughout all SPAIN are filled with Jews and heretics, who have profaned our sacraments, by receiving them as though they had been zealous and devout Catholics! Is it not likewise a truth, that an infinite number of others keep themselves concealed among us, and participate of those sacraments unworthily, and by way of derision. Such a thing never happens in countries where liberty of conscience is allowed to all. The greediness of foreigners after our wealth gets the better of their apprehensions of divine or human punishments.

“ WE might grant to the nations trading to CADIZ, or SEVILLE, or any other place where this company should be established, the free exercise of their religion for them alone, in the same manner as the Dutch, and many Protestant States and Princes, have allowed it to the Roman Catholics in their dominions, namely, not an open toleration. Thus foreigners, interested in, and members of the company, and their clerks and domestics, would have this advantage, which would render their abode in SPAIN very agreeable; foreign merchants who traded hither would be satisfied, and we should deliver ourselves from those enemies of our mysteries, who keep themselves concealed among us, and remove them from our temples and our altars; for as it is interest that inspires them with the courage to surmount all apprehensions and dangers, the same interest would draw them to that place, where they might in full security follow their superstitions.

“ THE example of the church of ROME for these several ages past may inform us, that it is not contrary to religion to tolerate a worship quite opposite to ours; for it has given a synagogue to the Jews, and it also allows the Greeks to worship according to their liturgy, without thereby forfeiting the name, or the sovereign title of being the immoveable seat of our religion. This example has been followed by the Grand Duke of TUSCANY, at LEGHORN, and by several other Princes in Christendom.

“ THE English merchants, notwithstanding their diversity of religion, have the liberty of trading in our ports, since the treaty concluded by the Constable of CASTILE, and the ministers of JAMES I. King of GREAT BRITAIN.

“ YOUR Majesty’s father, of glorious memory, granted the same thing to the Dutch, and even engaged, by the treaty of MUNSTER, to furnish them with a convenient and honourable place for a burial ground.

“ THUS, the most difficult step is already surmounted. As to other points, just precautions might easily be taken to prevent the venom of heresy from infecting the heart of Spaniards.”

LETTER XIV.

AN ACCOUNT of the SPANISH MONEY.

Pecuniam probant veterem, et diu notam.

TACITUS *de Mor. Ger.*

THE SPANISH MONEY is in itself not easy to be understood, especially by those who are not merchants. The Spaniards make up most of their accompts, and form their calculations chiefly in these *two* Species, the REAL DE VELLON, and the MARAVEDI.

THE MARAVEDI is the lowest of the denominations of their copper money, and in this the *King's accompts* are kept; consequently the revenues of SPAIN, and the wealth brought from PERU and MEXICO, are annually computed by an integer of copper, that is *three times less than our farthing*.

THE REAL DE VELLON is the smallest piece of their *silver* money, the ninetieth part of the pound Sterling, and equals our *two-pence-halfpenny*, and *two thirds of a farthing*.

BUT though it be the most usual way in SPAIN to compute by the *Maravedi* and the *Real de Vellon*, yet there are several other methods of calculation still in force. Thus, pensions from the court, payments of the army, navy, &c. are set down in the register of the Spanish finances, in *Escudos* and *Ducados*, (or copper

per crowns and ducats) reduced to *Reals Vellon*. Some accompts of merchants, and of private persons, are likewise kept in this way; but few things are bought and sold there, but by the former computation of *Maravedis* and *Reals*. There are, besides, *provincial* ways of calculation, and denominations of money peculiar to them, still subsisting, being the remains of the usages of the old kingdoms.

BUT our English merchants traffic chiefly in *Pieces of Eight*, and compute usually by the *Piastre*, or old disused Piece of Eight, consisting of fifteen Reals and two Maravedis: or, if they reckon by *Pistoles*, they mean the *Pistole* of sixty Reals, the *common* *Pistole*, not the *gold* one of seventy-five, and ten Maravedis, otherwise called the *Doblon efectivo de Oro*.

IN the office of *Decimal Rents*, as they call them, that is to say *Tythes*, belonging to the archbishop of TOLEDO, accompts are still kept in the obsolete denomination of *Dineros*, ten of which make a *Maravedi*. There are no less than fifty clerks in this office; and well there may: think only how *voluminous* accompts must be for above 30,000 pounds a-year, that are kept in a denomination, the value of which is more than *thirty times less* than our farthing!

THE different monies, and ways of reckoning, still subsisting in the *provinces*, make it necessary, that every province should have a separate office in MADRID for its own convenience: and though they live in the same street, the clerks of *one* office know no more of the process of accompting in the *other*, than a Chinese or Laplander would do.

IN the REAL HACIENDA, or Royal treasury, accompts are kept only in *Millions of Maravedis*.

BUT all the offices in SPAIN, whether ecclesiastical or secular, compute by some of the following denominations; either by *Dineros*, *Cornados*, *Blancos*, *Crowns*, or *Ducats*: but these are
antiquated

antiquated divisions, those of the *Maravedi* and *Real* being most in use.

THESE small denominations, which the Spaniards love to compute by, must, as you will easily imagine, render their accounts very like themselves, slow, tedious, and elaborate; but then they have this advantage, that they make their accountants most minutely exact. An error is much more easily detected, where the sum is divided into such a number of equal parts, and perhaps into *fractions* infinitely nice.

OF their lowest denomination, called a *Maravedi*, three and one fifth make an English farthing. Thirty-four *Maravedis* go to a Real de Vellon, and ninety Reals Vellon are equal to the Pound Sterling.

THEIR money writers make mention of *Maravedis of plate*; but these, though they might exist formerly, are now no more in being.

THE different exigencies of government, and the various expedients to support expensive projects of ambition, under the preceding reigns, have occasioned more alterations in the value and in the currency of the Spanish money, than in that of any other nation in the world, I believe; particularly from the year 1642 to 1688, and during the confusion and necessities of the succession war. In PHILIP IV.'s time, in 1642, things were in such confusion, that the Piece of Eight in August passed for twelve Reals, the Doblon for forty-five; in October the Piece of Eight went at twenty-five Reals, and the Doblon at eighty-nine; in December the Piece of Eight was at twenty-four Reals, and the Doblon at eighty-seven.

THE President OURRY, who was so distinguished for his great abilities, was three times sent for from FRANCE by PHILIP V. to re-establish the disordered finances of the Spanish monarchy.

As

As the Spanish money hath been scarce ever recalled, there hath arisen a confused multitude of imaginary species of coin. They committed a great error, in not making, upon the union of the several kingdoms, *one general coin, solely current throughout the whole peninsula.* All these circumstances plainly shew how little the genius and disposition of this people is turned to trade. What could be more *uncommercial*, than a money standard perpetually fluctuating, and there being one sort of coin in CASTILE, another in CATALONIA, a third in ARRAGON, and so on?

THE *Mints* of SPAIN were formerly many, namely, that of MADRID, SEVILLE, SEGOVIA, CUENZA in NEW CASTILE, of SARAGOSSA, BARCELONA, and VALENCIA. Of these the two first only, I believe, are now remaining. It is said there are *four* American mints, that of LIMA, POTOSI, MEXICO, and GUATIMALA.

IN order to give the reader the clearest idea of this matter, I will first begin with the Spanish *copper* money, then go on to the *silver*, and close the account with the *gold*.

1. OF THE SPANISH COPPER MONEY.

THE Spanish Copper Money is, for the most part, a very contemptible sort of coin; some of it stamped without either form or regularity; and what is even struck in a set dye, is far inferior to the worst of our halfpence.

THEIR Copper Monies are only four.

1. The Maravedi, $34 =$ to the Real Vellon.
2. The Ochavo, $= 2$ Maravedis, $17 =$ to the Real Vellon.
3. The Quarto, $= 4$ Maravedis, $8\frac{1}{2} =$ to the Real Vellon.
4. The Pieza de dos Quartos, $= 8$ Maravedis, $4\frac{1}{4} =$ equal to the Real Vellon.

IN 1718, PHILIP V. ordered they should coin milled Money of pure Copper, making out of each pound 51 Quartos, 102 Ochavos, and 204 Maravedis.

THERE

make them out; see PATIN'S L'Hist. des Med. p. 103. JOURNAL, Science des Med. Inst. 7.

THE Spanish Copper Money is more like the first rude monies of a barbarous people, than the coin of a great and civilized nation. They have often seen the Roman money for ages past; vast quantities of it are every day ploughed up, and brought to sale. It is much they should never have attempted the imitation of the *Roman Brass Coins*, though they might despair, perhaps, of executing their *Denarii*, or their *Aurii*. But there has been always something in the genius of these people averse to improvements.

STRABO says, that the Spanish *Silver* Money consisted of very thin pieces, or laminæ, which had been three times refined in the fire. This must have been pure indeed, but wretched coin, stamped, and without any *alloy*; consequently their Iron or Brass Money most probably was much more rude and barbarous, such as CÆSAR says our British ancestors made use of in his time. The *Quatros* of PHILIP V. are the best that I have seen of the Spanish Copper Money.

ONE reason, they say, why their Copper Money is so base a Coin, is easy to be assigned. When the expensive projects of ambition, in the preceding reigns, had at different times reduced the Spanish finances exceeding low, it had been sometimes an expedient to coin vast quantities of Copper Money: the consequence of this is, that there is now in SPAIN at least ten times more Copper Specie than the circulation requires; and at length it hath become such a burden, that merchants will rather allow one and a half *per cent.* discount, than receive payments in copper. This hath produced another effect, for as the quantity is so great as to be circulated in large bags, marked, of so much in tale, the ministry of SPAIN is afraid of calling in this Copper Specie to the mint, for its value to be reissued in Silver, as they imagine the state would be a great loser by the deficiency. This is Spanish policy; but, for my own part, I cannot see why this

evil might not easily be remedied; for, if the government would but consent to lay out the small sum of 20,000*l.* Sterling in buying them up, they might suppress 20 millions of these Copper denominations, and the convenience thereby arising to the internal traffic of the kingdom would much more than counterbalance the loss. The Spanish ministry are at present much embarrassed with this grievance. The expedient they now talk of to get rid of the greatest part of it, is to collect it in sacks, and ship it off for the use of their colonies in AMERICA. In the provinces, almost all payments are made in Copper, which renders commercial transactions there very troublesome.

2. Of the SPANISH SILVER MONEY.

THESE are, (1.) The Real de Vellon, = to 34 Maravedis. (2.) The Real de Plata, = to 2 Reals Vellon. (3.) The *Peseta Corriente*, = to 4 Reals Vellon. (4.) The *Medio Real de Plata Colunario*, = to 1 Real Vellon and $\frac{1}{4}$. (5.) The *Real de Plata Colunario*, = to 2 Reals Vellon and $\frac{1}{2}$. (6.) The *Real de a Dos Colunario*, = to 5 Reals Vellon. (7.) The *Medio Peso*, = to 10 Reals Vellon. (8.) The *Segovian*, or Mexican Piece of Eight, or Dollar, or *Peso*, = to 20 Reals Vellon; but if it happen to be struck at *Seville* in the year 1718; its value is no more than 16 Reals Vellon, and the half of this *Peso* no more than 8 Reals Vellon.

So that you see the Spaniards have *eight denominations* of their effective Silver Specie; but they have likewise some *imaginary* divisions, like that of our *English Pound*.—Such are the *five* following.

1. THE *Escudo de Vellon*, or copper, commercial, nominal Crown, = to 10 Reals Vellon.

2. THE *Ducado de Vellon*, or nominal Copper Ducat, 11 Reals and 1 Maravedi; used chiefly in computing marriage Portions,

tions, contracts, fines, and court pensions, and in rating all ecclesiastical revenues.

3. THE computed Dollar, or old Piece of Eight, commonly called THE PIASTRE, of fifteen Reals Vellon, and two Maravedis. N. B. In commercial computations, where no particular species is mentioned, you must reckon by this *Piastre*.

4. THE Ducado de Plata Nueva = to sixteen Reals Vellon, and seventeen Maravedis.

5. THE Ducado de Plata doble = to twenty Reals Vellon, and twenty-five Maravedis, and $\frac{4}{5}$ of a Maravedi.

IN regard to their *effective* silver specie, in the first place observe, that it has no impress of any royal head; that whenever it has a shield, or coat of arms on it, it is coined in OLD SPAIN, if it be struck before the year 1733; the American silver money struck before that period, having only the *cross* and the *numerals*. But since the year 1733, the American silver money has been the same with that of OLD SPAIN.

THE *Real de Vellon* is the smallest piece of their silver coin; observe only, that though it be of *Silver*, yet it is called *Vellon* Money, that is *Copper* Money: the reason is, that it was *originally* a Copper coin, but when they came afterwards to strike it in *Silver*, they still retained the old name. The effect of this hath been, that when merchants say *Vellon* Money, they mean *Silver*, and now call the Copper Cobre, or Calderilla.

THE *Peso Duro*, Gourdo, Dollar, or famous *Spanish piece of Eight*, is now tolerably well known in ENGLAND; there are four sorts of these *Dollars*; two square, one of LIMA, and one of SEVILLE; two of the round sort, one with pillars, and one without pillars. There have been no square Dollars coined since the year 1733. PHILIP V. then ordered that they should strike only the round and milled. The Dollars of FERDINAND VI. have the arms of CASTILE and LEON on a shield quarterly; the arms

of FRANCE on an escutcheon of pretence under a regal crown. The legend—FERDND. VI. D. G. HISPAN. ET IND. REX.

ON the *reverse*—two globes under a regal coronet, between two pillars, with coronets instead of capitals, labelled with the motto PLVS VLTRA. Legend, VTRAQVE VNVM. These are called *Colunario*, because of the *pillars*; they weigh exactly one ounce of silver, and their proportion between the silver and gold, is exactly as 15 = 1; fifteen of these being equal to the Doblon de á Ocho, which is also exactly an ounce of Gold.—When the exchange of this piece is at fifty-two pence, the English gain four per cent.

As *Silver* has been scarcer in ENGLAND than *Gold*, these Dollars have been imported there with great advantage, while the small Spanish *Gold Crown*, of exactly the *same value*, hath passed unnoticed. The price given for them by the *Bank of ENGLAND* having been from five shillings, to five and fourpence per ounce: and of late, till the taking of the HERMIONE, so high as 5 s. 8 d. and 5 s. 10 d.

THE meaning of the name *Piece of Eight*, was originally owing to its value; it was a Real, or *Dollar*, of eight Reals of plate currency. But there being now *three* distinct pieces of Eight, still in use, this hath bred some confusion: the reason of this variety is however easily to be accounted for.—The old Piece of Eight was, as I said, originally in value eight Reals of Plate; this by currency in time lost something, almost half a Real of Plate, and went at last for fifteen Reals Vellon, and two Maravedis. But when they came to coin better specie, to make this Dollar a more valuable, and fairer coin, they added the value of *two Reals of Plate* to it, which brought it to its modern standard, namely twenty Reals Vellon.—Yet still, as many of the old pieces of Eight still remained, the merchants were so bigotted to their old calculation of fifteen Reals, and two Maravedies, that they still kept up that computation, and it remains even now, though the pieces themselves are now no more, and is what

what they call reckoning by the *Piastre*. This accounts for two of the Pieces of Eight, that of twenty Reals, and the imaginary Piastre.

THE exchange of the *Piastre* is now at par, or forty pence. The *third* Piece of Eight is that of SEVILLE, of the year 1718, and was struck upon the old principle of eight Reals of plate currency, or sixteen Vellon, which it now goes for: but these are rare, and do not often occur. But remember, that the *three* Reals de á Ocho, or Pieces of Eight, are that imaginary one of fifteen Reals Vellon, and two Maravedies, of sixteen Reals Vellon of SEVILLE, and the modern one of twenty Reals Vellon.

IN the year 1726, PHILIP ordered, that old Silver Pieces of Eight should pass for Nine Reals of *Provincial* plate, and one half, that is for nineteen Reals Vellon, one less than the present currency. At this time there was a general recall of the smaller silver monies to the Mint.

IN the year 1728, PHILIP ordered a junta to regulate the mints and monies, which ordained that the Reals à 8^o. and à 4^o. should be round and milled at the edges, and of sixty-eight Reals of Plate the mark: that the *old Real de a Ocho* should pass thenceforward for ten Reals of Plate, that is twenty Vellon; and the Real a Quatro for five Reals of Plate; the mark for eighty Reals; the ounce for ten Reals of Plate, or twenty Vellon, and so on.

Of the SPANISH GOLD MONEY.

THERE were anciently only four Spanish Gold coins, and these divided by a very fair and goodly proportion; the Doblón of eight, the $\frac{1}{2}$, the $\frac{1}{4}$, the $\frac{1}{8}$; exactly the equal and direct divisions of an ounce of Gold; since that they have added a $\frac{1}{16}$: and their Gold Money stands thus:

1. The Escudito de Oro, or little Gold Crown = to twenty Reals Vellon.

2. THE

2. THE Escudo de Oro, or large Gold Crown, equal to thirty-seven Reals, and twenty-two Maravedis.

3. THE Doblon de a Cinco, or Gold Pistole, = to seventy-five Reals, and ten Maravedis.

4. THE Doblon de á Quatro, or double Gold Pistole, = to 150 Reals, and twenty Maravedis.

5. THE Doblon de á Ocho, or Gold piece of Eight, or four Gold Pistoles, = to 301 Reals, and six Maravedis.

THE Spaniards have also two imaginary species in the Gold, *the Dobla de Oro*, or Double Ducat, = to fourteen Reals, and nine Maravedis—and is used only by physicians and chymists—and the commercial nominal *Pistole* of sixty Reals Vellon.

THE *Doblon of Eight* was originally worth *eight Half Pistoles*, and thence took its name—*El Doblon de á Ocho Escudos*. It is at present but one Real more in value, because seventy-five multiplied by four, makes 300; but its currency is 301 Reals, and six Maravedis. Observe, that there are no pillars upon any of the Spanish Gold Money.

IN the year 1728, PHILIP ordered, that the *Doblon de á Ocho* should pass for sixteen old Pieces of Eight, or twenty Provincial Dollars; the Doblon á Quatro for eight of those Pesos; the Doblon á Dos for four; the Escudo for two, or twenty Reals of Plate.

THERE are three sorts of the Gold Doblon á Ocho. (1.) The American, or of LIMA, square, with the cross, and the numeral. (2.) With the head of the Prince, as legend, PHILIP V. D. G. HISPAN. ET. IND. REX.—Reverse, arms of the King, with this motto: TIMOR DOMINI INITIUM SAPIENTIÆ. (3.) The third sort has no impress of the Prince, but has the arms of the King under a regal crown, legend, PHILIP.

PHILIP. V. DEI. GRATIA. On the *reverse*, a cross, with this motto: HISPANIARVM. REX.

HAVING now concluded the account of the Spanish money, I shall refer the reader to the following Table, which will show at one view, the reduction of all the species of it into English money; and it is hoped the Table will be found both new and accurate.

TABLE, *showing the Value of* SPANISH COIN.
in ENGLISH MONEY.

Reals Vellon.	Maravedis.	l.	s.	d.	f.	
	1				$\frac{2}{3}$	Maravedi.
	2				$\frac{2}{3}$	Ochavo.
	$3\frac{1}{3}$				1	
	4				$1\frac{1}{3}$	Quarto.
	$6\frac{2}{3}$				2	
	8				$2\frac{2}{3}$	Two Quartos.
	$12\frac{4}{5}$			1		
	$25\frac{3}{5}$			2		
1	34			2	$2\frac{2}{3}$	{ Real de Vellon, or Half Real de Plata.
$1\frac{1}{4}$	$42\frac{1}{2}$			3	2	
2	68			5	$1\frac{1}{3}$	The Pillar'd Half Real of Plate.
$2\frac{1}{2}$	85			7		Real de Plata, or Real of Silver.
3	102			8		The pillar'd Real of Plate.
4	136			10	$2\frac{2}{3}$	{ The Real de a Dos, or curr Peseta.
5	170	1		1	$1\frac{1}{3}$	
6	204	1		4		{ The pillar'd Real de a Dos.
7	238	1		6	$2\frac{2}{3}$	
8	272	1		9	$1\frac{1}{3}$	{ The SEVILLE Half Dollar:
9	306	2				
10	340	2		2	$2\frac{2}{3}$	{ The Real de a Quatro, or Medio Peso, (i. e. Half Piece of Eight.)
11	374	2		5	$1\frac{1}{3}$	{ The nominal Escudo Vellon is of the same value. Nine of these make a Pound Sterling.
11 and 1 Maravedis,		2		5	$1\frac{2}{3}$	
12	408	2		8		{ The nominal Ducado de Vellon, or Copper Ducat.
13	442	2		10	$2\frac{2}{3}$	
14	476	3		1	$1\frac{1}{3}$	{ The nominal Doblo de Oro, or Gold double.
14 and 9 Maravedis,		3		2	$1\frac{1}{3}$	
15	510	3		4		

Real

Reals Vellon.	Maravedis.	l.	s.	d.	f.	
15 and 2 Maravedis,				3	4	$\frac{1}{2}$ } The old Piece of Eight, or Piastre nominal.
16	544			3	6	$2\frac{2}{3}$ } The SEVILLE Dollar.
16 and 17 Maravedis,				3	8	$\frac{1}{2}$ } The Ducado de Plata Nueva, or nominal Ducat of new plate.
17	578			3	9	$1\frac{1}{3}$
18	612			4		
19	646			4	2	$2\frac{2}{3}$
20	680			4	5	$1\frac{1}{3}$ } Real de a Ocho, Peso Gourdo, or Piece of Eight; the little Gold Crown is of the same value.
20 and $25\frac{1}{8}$ Maravedis,				4	7	1 } The Ducato de Plata Doble.
21	714			4	8	
22	748			4	10	$2\frac{2}{3}$
23	782			5	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$
24	816			5	4	
25	850			5	6	$2\frac{2}{3}$
26	884			5	9	$1\frac{1}{3}$
27	918			6		
28	952			6	2	$2\frac{2}{3}$
29	986			6	5	$1\frac{1}{3}$
30	1020			6	8	
31	1054			6	10	$2\frac{2}{3}$
32	1088			7	1	$1\frac{1}{3}$
33	1122			7	4	
34	1156			7	6	$2\frac{2}{3}$
35	1190			7	9	$1\frac{1}{3}$
36	1224			8		
37	1258			8	2	$2\frac{2}{3}$
37 and 22 Maravedis,				8	4	1 } The Escudo de Oro, or large Gold Crown.
38	1292			8	5	$1\frac{1}{3}$
39	1326			8	8	
40	1360			8	10	$2\frac{2}{3}$
41	1394			9	1	$1\frac{1}{3}$
42	1428			9	4	
43	1462			9	6	$2\frac{2}{3}$
44	1496			9	9	$1\frac{1}{3}$
45	1530			10		
46	1564			10	2	$2\frac{2}{3}$
47	1598			10	5	$1\frac{1}{3}$
48	1632			10	8	
49	1666			10	10	$2\frac{2}{3}$
50	1700			11	1	$1\frac{1}{3}$
51	1734			11	4	
52	1768			11	6	$2\frac{2}{3}$
53	1802			11	9	$1\frac{1}{3}$
54	1836			12		
55	1870			12	2	$2\frac{2}{3}$
56	1904			12	5	$1\frac{1}{3}$
57	1938			12	8	
58	1972			12	10	$2\frac{2}{3}$
59	2006			13	1	$1\frac{1}{3}$

Reals Vellon.	Maravedis	l.	s.	d.	f.	
60	2040	0	13	4	0	The nominal or common Pistole.
61	2074	0	13	6	$2\frac{2}{3}$	
62	2108	0	13	9	$1\frac{1}{3}$	
63	2142	0	14	0	0	
64	2176	0	14	2	$2\frac{2}{3}$	
65	2210	0	14	5	$1\frac{1}{3}$	
66	2244	0	14	8	0	
67	2278	0	14	10	$2\frac{2}{3}$	
68	2312	0	15	1	$1\frac{1}{3}$	
69	2336	0	15	4	0	
70	2370	0	15	6	$2\frac{2}{3}$	
71	2404	0	15	9	$1\frac{1}{3}$	
72	2438	0	16	0	0	
73	2472	0	16	2	$2\frac{2}{3}$	
74	2506	0	16	5	$1\frac{1}{3}$	The Doubloon of Gold.
75	2540	0	16	8	0	
75 and 10 Maravedis,		0	16	8	2	
76	2574	0	16	10	$2\frac{2}{3}$	
77	2608	0	17	1	$1\frac{1}{3}$	
78	2642	0	17	4	0	
79	2676	0	17	6	$2\frac{2}{3}$	
80	2710	0	17	9	$1\frac{1}{3}$	
81	2744	0	18	0	0	
82	2778	0	18	2	$2\frac{2}{3}$	
83	2812	0	18	5	$1\frac{1}{3}$	
84	2846	0	18	8	0	
85	2880	0	18	10	$2\frac{2}{3}$	
86	2914	0	19	1	$1\frac{1}{3}$	The Doubloon de a Quatro of Gold.
87	2948	0	19	4	0	
88	2982	0	19	6	$2\frac{2}{3}$	
89	3016	0	19	9	$1\frac{1}{3}$	
90	3040	1	0	0	0	
150 and 20 Maravedis,		1	13	5	2	
180		2	0	0	0	
270		3	0	0	0	
301 and 6 Maravedis,		3	6	11	0	The Doubloon de a Ocho of Gold.
360		4	0	0	0	
450		5	0	0	0	
540		6	0	0	0	
630		7	0	0	0	
720		8	0	0	0	
810		9	0	0	0	
900		10	0	0	0	
990		11	0	0	0	
1080		12	0	0	0	
1170		13	0	0	0	
1260		14	0	0	0	
1350		15	0	0	0	
1440		16	0	0	0	
1530		17	0	0	0	
1620		18	0	0	0	
1710		19	0	0	0	
1800		20	0	0	0	

0 0

Reals

Reals Vellon.	l.	s.	d.	Reals Vellon.	l.	s.	d.
1890	21	0	0	5490	61	0	0
1980	22	0	0	5580	62	0	0
2070	23	0	0	5670	63	0	0
2160	24	0	0	5760	64	0	0
2250	25	0	0	5850	65	0	0
2340	26	0	0	5940	66	0	0
2430	27	0	0	6030	67	0	0
2520	28	0	0	6120	68	0	0
2610	29	0	0	6210	69	0	0
2700	30	0	0	6300	70	0	0
2790	31	0	0	6390	71	0	0
2880	32	0	0	6480	72	0	0
2970	33	0	0	6570	73	0	0
3060	34	0	0	6660	74	0	0
3150	35	0	0	6750	75	0	0
3240	36	0	0	6840	76	0	0
3330	37	0	0	6930	77	0	0
3420	38	0	0	7020	78	0	0
3510	39	0	0	7110	79	0	0
3600	40	0	0	7200	80	0	0
3690	41	0	0	7290	81	0	0
3780	42	0	0	7380	82	0	0
3870	43	0	0	7470	83	0	0
3960	44	0	0	7560	84	0	0
4050	45	0	0	7650	85	0	0
4140	46	0	0	7740	86	0	0
4230	47	0	0	7830	87	0	0
4320	48	0	0	7920	88	0	0
4410	49	0	0	8010	89	0	0
4500	50	0	0	8100	90	0	0
4590	51	0	0	8190	91	0	0
4680	52	0	0	8280	92	0	0
4770	53	0	0	8370	93	0	0
4860	54	0	0	8460	94	0	0
4950	55	0	0	8550	95	0	0
5040	56	0	0	8640	96	0	0
5130	57	0	0	8730	97	0	0
5220	58	0	0	8820	98	0	0
5310	59	0	0	8910	99	0	0
5400	60	0	0	9000	100	0	0

A TABLE of ENGLISH and PORTUGAL MONEY,
reduced to SPANISH Computation.

	l.	s.	d.	R. V.	Mar.
Sixpence	0	0	6	2	8½
Shilling	0	1	0	4	17
Half a Crown	0	2	6	11	8½
A Crown	0	5	0	22	17
Half a Pound Ster.	0	10	0	45	0

Half

	l.	s.	d.	R. V.	Mar.
Half a Guinea	0	10	6	47	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
A Pound Ster.	1	0	0	90	0
A Guinea	1	1	0	94	17
Moidore	1	7	0	121	17
A Pound and a Half	1	10	0	135	0
* A Six and Thirty	1	16	0	162	0
A Three Pound Twelve	3	12	0	324	0

* N. B. Six and Thirties, or PORTUGAL Pieces, exchange in this country at great loss: They will give at CORUNNA only 152, or at most 156 Reals; at MADRID something more. The par is 162 Reals.

LETTER XV.

The STATE of AGRICULTURE.

THE Soil of SPAIN is naturally dry, and is rendered still more so, by reason of the great heats, which parch up the springs and brooks, and by the want of rain to refresh the earth at proper seasons. Of this a remarkable instance happened about five years ago, when it had not rained in CASTILE for nineteen months together.

THE general surface of the country, if you except the two CASTILES, is uneven, scarped, and mountainous.—It has been doubted by the Abbe de * VERAY, and others, whether there ever were any *mines* of silver in SPAIN, because the Spaniards at present work none: but this presumption has been ill founded. I am told, that it is a standing maxim of Spanish policy, not to work any of their mines in EUROPE, as long as those of AMERICA will supply them. It is a certain fact, that there are many *silver* mines dispersed throughout SPAIN, and at GUADALCANAL in ANDALUSIA in particular.—*Englishmen* have gone over there, and have examined the very ore, and have found it so promising, that some have been sanguine enough to offer to contract

* But a modern writer has well confuted this opinion.—His words are, “ La prudence Espagnole, qui ne songe pas tant au present, qu’elle n’a pense aussi à l’avenir, ne veut pas qu’on y touche, tandis que celles des Indes auront dequoi fournir. Je trouve que c’est sagement fait à eux.

for the working of the mines. But suppose the *moderns* had not examined into this point, would not the testimony of the *ancients* have been strong enough to prove it? POLYBIUS, STRABO, and LIVY, all affirm it. CATO imposed a tax upon the silver and iron mines, among the VERGISTANI: See LIVY, Lib. 34.

NOTWITHSTANDING the inconvenience arising from the dryness of the soil, and the want of rain, yet, if the inhabitants were industrious, and applied themselves with assiduity to the cultivation of their lands, a general abundance might prevail, which is far from being the case at present, for in many places there is often great scarcity of *bread*.

THE genius of the people is doubtless naturally averse to toil and labour. Give a Spaniard but his cloak, hat, and sword, his wine and his bread, and he cares not how little he works. Another great obstruction to Agriculture is the immense number of lazy *ecclesiastics* in these kingdoms, and the perpetual succession of *holidays* allowed by the church, which deprive the state of *one third* of the labour, that it ought to receive from its subjects. To these let me add, the thinness of its population; SPAIN in general, and GRANADA in particular, have never recovered that fatal blow of *the expulsion of the Moors*; the effects of which are felt still more, by the addition of civil and religious *celibacy*. When PHILIP, on one hand, banished to the amount of 800,000 industrious infidels, from a principle of religion, he ought, on the other hand, from a principle of policy, to have set open the gates of every nunnery and convent in his dominions. I have heard the number of these useless, sequestered males and females, these dead limbs of the body politic, computed at no less than 200,000; but I believe the calculation much exaggerated.

BESIDES the bad consequences arising from religious celibacy, their thin population is in part owing to the sterility of their females; and above all, to the vast emigrations of their people to AMERICA.

To

To remedy these defects, the ministry, in PHILIP III's and PHILIP IV.'s time, offered vast premiums to promote marriage and agriculture. But their imprudent schemes of policy in other instances have rendered those patriot laws almost ineffectual.

ANOTHER unfavourable circumstance to agriculture is, there being no exportation of corn allowed in SPAIN from one province to another, except for the King's use, the exigencies of the fleet, army, and such occasions. In consequence of this bad policy, they are obliged to send to BARBARY and AFRICA, or to ENGLAND for corn; for, it is morally impossible but the harvest must fail annually in some one province or other, and then that province must be supplied from abroad. Indeed, the transportation of it to any great distance is almost impracticable; for their large rivers being left in their natural state, are not navigable.

FOR my own part, I am persuaded, that they look upon all such improvements, in some measure, *as sinful*. What shall we say *superstition* will not persuade men to, when we read the following curious deliberation of a council of state, in the reign of CHARLES II.?—When a company of *Dutch* contractors offered that Prince, to make the TAGUS navigable to LISBON, at their own expence, provided they were allowed a toll, for a certain number of years, upon such goods as were sent by water-carriage that way: for they intended to render the *Manzanares* navigable from *Madrid* to where it falls into the *Tagus*.—The Council of CASTILE having long deliberated upon that proposal, made at last this remarkable determination: “That if it had pleased God, that these two rivers should have been navigable, he would not have wanted human assistance to have made them such: but, as he has not done it, it is plain he did not think it proper that it should be done. To attempt it, therefore, would be to violate the decrees of his providence, and to amend the imperfections which he designedly left in his works.”

BUT besides this defect in their *rivers*, they have opened very few *roads* for carriages; in many places there being scarce
 6 room

room even for a mule to pass by. Another disadvantage to agriculture is, that where the land happens to be let to a tenant, which is not often the case, the *sale of the estate voids the lease*; from whence comes their Spanish proverb, *Venta desbáze renta*. — *The sale frees you from rent*. This is so directly contrary to our law, and the equity of the thing, that the discouragement to the farmer need not be insisted on.

THE military spirit of these people, which has always prevailed, has no doubt given them a contempt for agriculture. Whoever travels over SPAIN, will be grieved to see such vast tracks of fine land, turned to so little advantage; great part of it not tilled, and that which is, done in so careless and slovenly a manner, as to produce a starved crop of corn, even in spots where they might command the most abundant harvest. Their corn is usually choaked up with stones, filth, and weeds of every kind. There cannot be a stronger proof given of the fertility of the soil in SPAIN, than its producing so much as it doth, when you consider how little labour they bestow upon it. When they *plow*, they scarce do more than just scratch the surface of the ground with a slight furrow; after the first plowing, they let the earth lie for a few days, and then they *sow*, the *Wheat* in September, and the *Barley* in February: when this is done, they seldom use the *Harrow*, but plow it over again, in order to cover the seed. Thus it stands till June or July, at which time they cut it down. The Barley is rarely bound in sheafs, and the Wheat not always. Neither, however, are carried into *Barns*; but they lay it down on some clean dry hillock, and then their mules come with a drag, and tread or beat out the corn; it is a shorter method than our *threshing*. The winnowing there is done still easier, by only throwing the corn up into the air.

SUCH is the general indolence of the inhabitants of this country, that many of them will neither reap nor gather in their own corn. I should except, however, the industrious GALLICIANS, who, with great numbers out of FRANCE, from AUVERGNE and LANGUEDOC, annually travel over all SPAIN, to be its husbandmen.

THE corn, when cut down, usually lies exposed upon some dry high ground for a month or six weeks : as it must therefore be watched by night, they build small huts to lodge in. These places being most commonly in the neighbourhood of great towns, it is the evening diversion of the Spaniards, at this season, to walk out to these *Eras*, (or *Areas*) as they call them, to form parties there ; some sitting, others playing on the guitar, others singing and dancing *Sequedillas* or *Fundungos*. During the heats, the cool air of those rising grounds is pleasant, and the scene odd enough. They frequently stay out late at these entertainments. The ladies of fashion at MADRID sometimes partake of them.

STRANGE as this manner of treading out the corn upon the ground, and in the dust, may appear to us, yet I do not find that it receives any damage from this practice ; for it is all of the hard sort, and their flour is fine and white, not inferior to any in ENGLAND. This method of treading out the corn is, however, undoubtedly not less ancient than the time of MOSES, as may be seen in Scripture. When the corn is thus trodden out, they carry it into the public granary, from whence it is dispensed to the people, by particular magistrates, a *board* being appointed for that purpose : this they call *Junta de los Abastos*.

LITTLE else is sown in SPAIN, but Wheat, Barley, and Rye ; to the mules they usually give *chopped straw*, and these animals will undergo amazing fatigue, upon such poor food. The Spanish horse are likewise commonly fed with chopped straw, and it gives them the finest coat imaginable ; but when they are upon hard service, they give them Barley ; the richer sort, indeed, give their mules barley. The Spaniards make little use of oats, tho' there are some few fields of it to be met with.

WHEN I speak of the Spanish Agriculture, I mean the *general* state of it in SPAIN ; for some parts of the country are certainly much more tilled and improved than others ; which must be the case in all countries : thus, for instance, when you pass the SIERRA MORENA, or that craggy saw of mountains, by which you enter
into

into ANDALUSIA, the scene is agreeably changed, the country chearfuller, all tilled to corn, or planted with olives; the villages neat and clean; but even here industry is wanting; no inclosures, no trees, but vines and olives.

FROM CORDUBA to SEVILLE you pass over a ruder country, less cultivated, and abounding in olives, and some vineyards. The country, however, about GRANADA, MURCIA, VALENCIA, and BARCELONA, has been of late years very nobly cultivated and improved: in that latter city, in particular, there is so much industry, that you would be apt to think the people were not Spaniards. In the environs, also, of the two former cities, the country is one continued garden, abounding with all sorts of melons, gourds, pimentos, and garden herbs, interspersed with plats of corn, maize, rice, hemp, &c. all growing under the shade of mulberry-trees, which cover the whole country: they have peas, cauliflowers, sallads, beans, &c. fresh from their gardens, without the help of an hot-house, in the middle of our winter.

WITH regard to the other provinces; in BISCAY they attend chiefly to their *Iron* manufactures, and so of course pay less regard to agriculture. ASTURIAS is all mountainous and woody, excepting where they have laid the forests waste for the supply of their navy. I say *laid them waste*, because, through their unskillfulness in cutting and felling the timber, and a careless prodigality in the manner of doing it, they have cut down as much of the noblest wood, to build a few *men of war*, as would have served the Spanish navy for some years. A gentleman, who lately travelled that way, assured me, that the ASTURIAS, in this respect, had more the appearance of a plundered province, than of a country in the hands of its own masters.

THE two CASTILES are miserably cultivated; LEON worse; but some parts of GALLICIA are fine; and though their attention to, and skill in agriculture, is by no means equal to that of the southern provinces of SPAIN, yet it has no mean appearance.

ONE of the late ministers tried to introduce the *English style* of agriculture into SPAIN, within these few years; and sent for ploughs, harrows, and other implements and tools of husbandry from LONDON. But when he came to teach his *Castilian* peasants, the use and application of these rustic arms, they had no less aversion to them, than the Spanish troops have now to the *Prussian military exercise*. They tried to work with them, but in vain. The DON will as soon quit his skin, as his habits and prejudices. So they laid the tools down very quietly, and told the minister, “*Que no se puede trabajar con instrumentos semejantes á los Yngleses—That it was impossible to work with such tools as the English.*”

WITH regard to *Climate*, the Spaniards certainly breathe the purest air, well suited to such constitutions as are not subject to *cholics*, particularly to what is called the *dry cholic*. It is too thin and subtle to agree with consumptive dispositions; but to such whose constitutions are sound, and unimpaired by hereditary or acquired distempers, there are few better climates in the world. In GALLICIA the air is more impregnated with vapours and moisture; but in general, there is neither mist nor cloud, and you have the most serene azure sky constantly over your head, that can be imagined.

IN winter, the cold is not of so freezing a nature as in ENGLAND, nor does it numb the extremities in the same manner; but it is of a more piercing and subtle kind; wherefore great care must be taken at those seasons to guard well the breast and lungs. Fire is as much wanted at MADRID, in the midst of winter, as in LONDON, and yet they use *braziers* in general, and but few *chimneys*. In June, July, August, and part of September, the heats are very oppressive; during the hours of heat, to be still, with as little light in the room as possible, is the only way to be tolerably cool. Great care ought to be taken in regard to the *water* all over SPAIN, particularly at SEGOVIA, and ARANJUEZ; for in those places, if drank without proper caution, it will have the most fatal effects. The surest preservative is to boil it, or to put an hot iron into it, before you drink it. The
water,

water, indeed, of MADRID, is excellent, particularly that of the fountain of the *Recoletos*. The court of SPAIN have given it the strongest recommendation possible, for they have sent water from MADRID even to Don CARLOS and Don PHILIP, as far as ITALY.

YOU may find some *Trees* in SPAIN not very common in other countries. The olive tree, green oak, and mulberry tree, abound there; you will meet with vast forests of *fir* and *cork*; of which latter they make stools and benches, and apply it to many other domestic uses. There are fine woods of oak in ESTREMADURA and ASTURIAS; some few *palms* and *cedars* are likewise found. Then as to *Fruits*, there are figs, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, citrons, dates, capers, walnuts, chestnuts, pistachio-nuts, raisins, grapes, peaches, nectarines, apricots, plums of all sorts, pears, apples, mulberries, strawberries, currants, but, I believe, no gooseberries.

GARDENING, except in the neighbourhood of BARCELONA and VALENTIA, and some other places on the MEDITERRANEAN coast, is entirely neglected in this country. They have not even the idea of gentlemens country seats, with gardens about them, after the English manner, except at the King's palaces, or some grandee's old castle. Yet, notwithstanding, their lettuce, fallads, asparagus, cellery, cabbage, spinnage, endive, garden herbs, onions, garlick, carrots, turnips, melons, cucumbers, artichokes, &c. are good.—The honey of SPAIN, where there is so much wild thyme, is equal to that of HYBLA.

VINEYARDS abound every where; for they make neither *beer*, nor *cyder*; *rum* is prohibited, and their *brandy* is a wretched spirit, distilled from *aniseed*. Foreign wines are very difficult to be had there at any price, except in the *sea-ports*; even the fine wines of their own growth are by no means cheap, or easy to be procured. What wine is sold of foreign growth, is chiefly some poor *Claret*, or wretched *Frontiniac*. The wines that are native are remarkably strong; they are pressed out in the ancient manner, so often mentioned in Scripture, by the feet; when thus

trodden out, they are immediately put into *bog skins*, sewed up, and pitched on the inside: the *pitch* is apt to give them a deeper tint, and a very rank taste; this the connoisseurs call tasting of the *Borracho*. There are many fine wines in SPAIN, the very names of which I know not: those that have fallen in my way are the following. 1. *Mountain*. 2. *Xeres*, or what we call *Sherry*, a town near CADIZ. 3. *Paxarete*, both dry, and sweet. 4. *Malaga*, in that country, what the Spaniards call DON PEDRO XIMENES, from the name of a famous vintner in that city. 5. *Makvasia*, in CATALONIA, what we call *Malmsey*. 6. *Tinta de Rota*, or what we call *Tent*. 7. *Peralta*. 8. *Montilla*. 9. *Guarnacha*, in CATALONIA. 10. *Fontcarral*. 11. *Moscatel*. 12. *Ribadavian*. 13. *Maravella*. 14. *Seges*. 15. *Mancha*. This last is the wine of DON QUIXOTE's country: it is of the red grape, and what is chiefly drank, mixed with water, by the court and gentry at MADRID.

THE Spanish horse were always famous; those of ANDALUSIA are the most beautiful, those of ASTURIAS the strongest: the best mules are the *Castilian*, particularly those of LA MANCHA. but both horses and mules are very dear in this country; fifty or sixty pounds for a mule is no extraordinary price. All travelling, carriage, &c. is generally performed by mules, not horses. In many places, where the mules go with safety, an horse would scarce stand.

THERE are great plenty of oxen and cows, though the Spaniards make no *butter*, *oil* supplying its place. They make likewise very little use of *cows milk*, *goats milk* being only to be had, even at MADRID. They have black cattle in great abundance, and large flocks of sheep. All these are usually poor and lean, for want of pasture, though the flesh is not without its relish, and the meat is certainly more substantial, more nutritious, than what is killed in ENGLAND.

THEY have immense droves of swine, particularly about TALAVERA DE LA REGNA. As these are fed with chesnuts, the pork is of a most exquisite flavour. Poultry in general, except the

the turkies, are in this country lean and dry. There are great quantities of game of all sorts, hares, partridges, &c. but neither fat nor well flavoured. The venison is good, but inferior to our own. *Rabbits* breed and multiply astonishingly in SPAIN, and are very good food; they were so great a nuisance, in the time of AUGUSTUS, that the Roman soldiers were obliged to destroy them, as STRABO tells us. This made CATULLUS call SPAIN *Cuniculosa Celtiberia*. And BOCHART says, that the name of SPAIN came from the *Phœnician* SPANIJAM, which signifies *the land of rabbits*.

FISH is scarce ever seen in the interior parts of the country; and what does come there is usually brought in *snow*. They have great multitudes of *craw-fish* at MADRID.—But their chief supply of fish is sent them by the English from NEWFOUNDLAND, the *salt fish*, or what they call the BACALAO. The *Spaniards* themselves indeed, near CALES, salt no inconsiderable quantity of the *Thunnus*, or *Ton-fish*; and very excellent it is; though this is no new practice, but as old as the Roman times; for the ELDER PLINY tells us, “*Optima autem omnium in Europa sunt Gaditana Salsamenta.*”

L E T T E R XVI.

To the Reverend Dr. KENNICOTT, &c. &c.

TO those, Sir, who, like you, are great proficient in the *Hebrew* and eastern languages, there are perhaps few countries in the world that would afford them more pleasure than this of SPAIN, could they but have free access to all the oriental *manuscripts* it is known to contain.

You need not be informed, that when the empire of the MOORS flourished here, they had universities of note, at a time when all the Christian world, and the rest of SPAIN in particular, was buried in the most disgraceful ignorance. The Christians themselves made no difficulty of going to study in those seminaries, to learn astronomy and philosophy.

THIS country was the residence of those learned Arabs, AVICENA, AVERROES, ALMANZOR, and MESSAHALLAH. It was here those able Jews wrote their comments, the Rabbins ABEN EZRA, MOSES BEN-MAYMON, A. ZACUTH, BENJAMIN, MOSES KIMCHI, and his sons DAVID and JOSEPH; with others, whose names and works are so humorously described in that beautiful poem, your *Oxford Auctio Davisiana*.

BUT though there certainly are great collections of *Hebrew*, and other *Oriental MSS.* remaining in SPAIN, yet let me intreat you, Sir, not to raise your expectations too high, or sanguinely

to imagine, that you can derive any great accessions to your *new Edition of the Bible*, from this part of the world. Not that I am without hope of obtaining some valuable *collations* for your use hereafter: but that must be the work of much time and application: patience and perseverance are most essentially necessary in all your transactions with a Spaniard.

YOU no doubt are well aware, that those who glean after such men as XIMENES, MONTANUS, and PERE HOUBIGEANT, in this country, cannot expect to find much left, which they have not *collated*. But still I am persuaded, from knowing the genius of these people, that a skilful and diligent enquirer would discover some *Hebrew MSS.* which these great men never saw: some have doubtless been brought hither since their time, and some probably escaped their search.

BUT, in order that you may see the state of this matter more compleatly, I send you inclosed *two Letters*, translated from the original, written by a very learned and intelligent *Spaniard*. The *first* will give you a full view of the state of the *Hebrew and Arabic* learning in this country; and the *second* contains a most exact account of the *Complutenjian Polyglott*.

HAVING used my utmost endeavours to procure you some *collations* of such ancient *Hebrew MSS.* of the Bible, as I could get intelligence of in SPAIN, it is but reasonable, that I should give you, Sir, as satisfactory an account as I can of the steps I took for that purpose.

THERE are but *two* principal obstacles to your procuring the *collation* of the *Hebrew MSS.* in SPAIN: these are, the absolute necessity of his Catholic Majesty's permission; and the difficulty of finding persons of ability, learning, leisure, and what is more, humility sufficient for such a work: for, should you find out an ecclesiastic able enough to go through this dry task, he may possibly have too much pride to receive your pay; and then what motive have you left to engage him with?

BUT

BUT how discouraging soever these obstacles may appear, yet notwithstanding, if there breaks out no war, and I have the opportunity of another year's stay in this country, I am persuaded I shall have the satisfaction of being instrumental in removing them in great measure.

UPON receiving advices from ENGLAND in regard to your undertaking, I immediately wrote to some of the Spanish *literati* upon that subject, and among others to Don FR. PEREZ BAGAR, a canon and treasurer of the church of TOLEDO: he sent me word, that he had by him between * twenty and thirty Hebrew MSS. of the Bible, written possibly in the XIIth century, or not much later; and that there was one in particular, dated 1144. This account of his, however, proved erroneous; for he told me afterwards, that he had only eight MSS. by him of the Hebrew Bible, with another in the church library: for, not having sufficiently examined the rest, he found that several, which he imagined to have contained the text, were only Rabbinical comments.

IN obedience to my directions from ENGLAND, I informed the Earl of BRISTOL of the nature, state, and utility of your undertaking, and endeavoured to induce him to move in it: but his Lordship replied, that he could not; that his office was only *political*, and that he had nothing to do with what was foreign to his commission.

UPON this I wrote to ENGLAND, advising an application to be made to the Count DE FUENTES, in order to obtain his Catholic Majesty's permission, that the Hebrew MSS. of the Bible in SPAIN might be *collated* for your work. That Count's chaplain called upon me soon after at SEGOVIA, and assured me, that the Count DE FUENTES had promised to procure an application from the Romish college of Cardinals to the King of SPAIN, for the English to have the same permission here, which they had in the *Vatican*. This I have heard no more of since; and to tell you the truth, I did not believe at that time.

* See above, p. 83.

You will see in my † catalogue of the ESCURIAL MSS. what there is in that place. While I was there, I had the good fortune to meet with the Count GAZOLA, one of his Catholic Majesty's great favourites, a Lieutenant-general, and his principal Engineer. He having asked me, if I had succeeded in obtaining access to the Hebrew and other MSS. in SPAIN? I replied, that I had seen those of the ESCURIAL, in a very cursory manner, but none else; that as to such an access as I wanted, for the purposes of *collation*, I despaired of ever seeing that point accomplished. He replied, "Courage, mon ami, a mon retour á MADRID, je vous ferois cette grace moi meme."——This I looked upon as a most favourable incident; and accordingly, when I returned to MADRID, I drew up the inclosed Latin epistle to Count GAZOLA, stating the nature of your proposals, and desiring his assistance in obtaining the King's permission.

AFTER this, I saw BAGER at MADRID, who came to desire me to send to ENGLAND for some books, which would be necessary to him in finishing a work he had almost completed, entitled *an Explanation of the Samaritan coins*, to which will be added an account of the Spanish coins, called *desconocidas*. At this interview we made a mutual agreement; I undertook to procure the books, provided he would *collate* and send me the *various readings* of those nine MSS. at TOLEDO. So that you have nothing more to do, Sir, than to write a letter to him in form, requesting the *collation* of those MSS. for your work, in order that he might lay that letter before the chapter of TOLEDO, to obtain their permission.

P. S. Since my return to ENGLAND, I have little more to add, Sir, to this account. When I saw the Honourable Mr. HAY at LISBON, he very warmly espoused the cause of your undertaking; and was so obliging as to offer to keep such a literary correspondence open during the war, if necessary. But as we have now the prospect of peace before us, we are under no restraints of that sort; and whenever you would have any correspondence in SPAIN

† See above, Letter VIII. p. 155.

renewed upon this subject, please to let me know your commands, and I shall very readily obey them.

E P I S T O L A

Ad Excellentissimum Comitem DE GAZOLA, &c. &c.
de Collatione Hebraicorum Manuscriptorum Veteris Testamenti.

CUM nos Britanni, Comes Excellentissime, orbi litterato nuperimé enuntiavimus, nos hodie novam suscepisse sancti et antiquissimi istius Fœderis editionem, magni Cardinalis XIMENIS quasi classico et exemplo accensi: ita et in eundem finem rationes publice proposuimus, et é prelo edidimus, collationem manuscriptorum sacri textûs Hebraici solummodo spectantes.

INCREDIBILE est dictu quo ardore et benevolentia tantum opus ab omnibus fere nostrorum hominum ordinibus statim excipiebatur. Academiæ, Oxonia, Cantabrigia, Dublinia suffragia sua perquam libenter detulerunt; nec votis tantum inanibus prosecutæ sunt, sed auro et argento oblatis liberaliter adjuvarunt. Idem dicendum est de Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Decanis et Capitulis, Collegiis, et ut ne singulos memorem de permultis non minus propter religionem et doctrinam eorum insignibus, quam per stemmata et fastos majorum.

QUAMPRIMUM igitur, Comes Excellentissime, incoeptum et consilium hoc divulgari coepit, tantus ardor et cæteros Britannos apud exteras regiones aliosque populos peregrinantes corripuit, ut confestim manuscriptos codices Hebraicos ubique delitescentes exquirere, eruerent, et felici quâdam indagine aucuparent.

AT ne exteri quidem, ne eorum gloriæ et laudi detraham, tanto operi, tam latæ et universæ utilitatis in rempublicam, in gene-

ris humani commodum et ornamentum excogitato, ne ipsi exteri pro suis viribus, pro suâ humanitate nobis defuerunt; Præcipue Romæ, Florentiæ, Bononiæ, Mediolano, Genuæ, Venetiis, Byzantii.

IN urbe vero ROMA, ubi artes et litteræ humaniores tantâ olim ubertate floruerunt, nec hodié desertæ sunt, primi ordinis nobiles, et etiam ecclesiæ Catholicæ Romanæ principes, suum operi auxilium et patrocinium humaniter et urbane præstiterunt. Eminentissimus Cardinalis *Passionéi* liberam collationis licentiam a summo et S. S. Pontifice obtinuit, et Vaticani fores confestim patefecit: hodieque omnes in celeberrimâ illâ Bibliothecâ Hebraici manuscripti per Anglorum manus accuratissimé excutiuntur in ipso palatio, et dum vivus aderat, sub Eminentissimi Cardinalis auspiciis et ductu.

SED quorsum omnis tendit hæc oratio me roges forsan Comes humanissime? Aperiam statim, si modo mihi vestram expetenti veniam eam clementer dederis. Tendit, vir doctissime, ut eundem Angli in Hispaniis indulgentiam inveniant, quam a sanctissimo Papâ, et celsissimo Cardinalium Collegio ROMÆ obtinuerunt: Teque, Comes Excellentissime, patriæ meæ nomine oro et obtestor, ut eandem nobis veniam et collationis licentiam in his terris patefacias, quam ubique alias terrarum orbis habuimus.

FREMANT licet Monachorum coenobia, et clament Sacri Officii subsellia, tamen cum liberum patriæ meæ spiritum et animum mecum asportaverim, tibi Comes Litteratissime liberrime dicam quod sentio: quanquam enim nos Christiani in diversa ierimus momenta fidei, tamen *eandem* ambo *fidem* profitemur, ad *easdem* sacras *scripturas* provocamus: Æquæ et communiter amborum interest eisdem ex quibus haurimus fontes puros putosque conservare. Quis etenim vel sanus vel sobrius malit eam illam ignorantiam, eosque errores, qui ex oscitantia librariorum libros sacros invaserint, de sæculo ad sæculum perpetuare, a generatione in generationem consecrandos tradere? Eam quam hodie licentiam Romæ Britannis Papa præstitit, *Matrito* certe non detractus erit. Sed in eo non moramur.

REGIS tantummodo licentia et auctoritas nostræ causæ, nostræ quæstioni expetitur. Quis autem adeo fidens inventus erit, qui hanc causam et quæstionem humillimè per Ministros suos ad Regem Catholicum deferat? Excellentissimus Legatus noster Britannicus rei politicæ solum invigilat, neque his curis alienis vel tangi vel impediri possit. Si de me dicerem, qui tantum vile quoddam litteratorum nostrorum in hac quæstione instrumentum sim, et tanquam exilis patriæ meæ vox, hæc me nunquam ausurum susceperumve non diffiteor.

SIN autem patronum aliquem invenero, qualem te Comes Excellentissime, sub cujus umbra protegar; et ut verum dicam præstantiorem potioreve nec velim, nec potuerim: Quippe tu, qui architecturæ et pingendi artes præcipuo quodam amore semper fovisti; ita cæteras scientias, et litteras humaniores publicis studiis, publicâ benevolentia adeo profecutus sis, ut parum sciam ad cujus Patrocinium vel Musæ vel Gratia potius confugerent: sub tali Ægide, sub hâc Minervâ, causam hanc et partes mihi honorifice delatas me non deserturum fateor, et quoad potuerim executurum.

VALE, Vir doctissime, et te D. O. M. per multos annos sospitem servet, et si mea ulteriora vota sit fas adjungere.

SIT tibi † POESTANÆ gloria prima rosæ.

† He is publishing the Ruins of the Ancient POESTUM.

L E T-

L E T T E R X V I I .

An EPISTLE to CHARLES CHRISTOPHER PLUER, chargé des Affaires from the Court of DENMARK to that of MADRID, written originally in Latin by Don GREGORY MAYANS, and containing the present State of the HEBREW and ARABIC Learning in SPAIN, and where the principal MSS. in those Branches are to be found.

THE ARABIC and HEBREW languages have always greatly flourished in SPAIN; nor is this extraordinary, for the HEBREW contains the SCRIPTURES, and has interpreters, though for the most part very trifling, yet highly skilful in that language.—Add to this, that the wealth of SPAIN ever attracted the avarice of the JEWS, whose numbers increased so much, that their sons were even admitted to holy orders, until they were forbid by some statutes, particularly that of TOLEDO, in 1547. This statute became necessary, for there were found in one single town, of the diocese of TOLEDO, fourteen clergy, all JEWS but one; and in many other places a similar discovery was made of their increase.—There is no doubt, but that these JEWS not only studied and improved their own language, the HEBREW; but even the most learned CHRISTIANS learnt eagerly that language, in order to convert the JEWS, especially after the *Council held at VIENNA*, in the year 1311, as we may gather from the *first CLEMENTINE*, title *De Magistris*, where it was ordained, that in the Universities of PARIS, OXFORD, BOLOGNA, and SALAMANCA, which
were

were then the most famed Universities, the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, and *Chaldic* tongues should be taught.

THIS was done with so much spirit at SALAMANCA, that from thence, as from the TROJAN Horse, mere Princes went forth; men who understood all the *Oriental Tongues* incomparably well. Nevertheless in the time of FERDINANDUS NONIUS, the parent of Greek learning in this country, *Chaldee* and *Arabic* professors were wanting at SALAMANCA, as you may see in N. CLEUARD's *Epistles*, p. 235.

As to the *Hebrew*, it is well known what hatred and aversion hath always subsisted between the JEWS and us CATHOLICS; from whence it happened, that this hatred, which should have been confined only to the perfidy of that people, hath been absurdly exerted against the innocent *Hebrew* tongue itself, and its learned Professors.

How much prejudice the study of the HEBREW created against ANTO. of LEBRIXA, a man of most eminent learning, you may learn from his *Apologia*, which is a scarce book; you may see some extracts of it in my *Specimen of a Library*, p. 33. The Letters of LEWIS VIVES will also tell you the ill treatment JOHN VERGERA, and other eminent Hebræans, met with here on account of their knowledge of the *Hebrew*. Read the complaints only of B. A. MONTANUS upon this subject, in his *Commentary de Varia Hebr. Lib. Scriptione et Lectione*, where he is treating of the discordance or agreement of different versions.

WHEREFORE, although Cardinal XIMENES first set the example, and roused the minds of the Spaniards to the study of the Eastern Languages, and particularly of the *Hebrew*, yet as patrons and rewards for it failed after his death, and the prejudice ran against it, that most useful study began to be looked upon as a mark of infamy.

UPON this account, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was warmly disputed among the Spaniards, whether or

no

no the *Rabbinical Writings* ought to be read at all: This question was warmly debated and fully explained by JOHN MARIANA, in his *Defence of the Vulgate*; there he tells us, ch. 26, that scarce thirty scholars could be found in all SPAIN, to whom the *Rabbinical Writers* could be of any use; and he adds, that his countrymen were not then so much addicted to the dry study of the Languages, as to stand in need of prohibitions, but rather of incitements. It is remarkable too, to observe what he wrote in his tract *De Rebus Societatis*, ch. 6.

THE same MARIANA, being consulted by the *Inquisitor General* concerning the *Rabbinical Writers*, answered, that he thought that the THALMUD, with its Glosses, ought to be forbidden to be read, as it had been already forbidden; and that RABBI MENAHEM, a *Recanate* upon the *Pentateuch*, ought to be prohibited also; and likewise the book ZOHAR, written by SIM-EON BEN-JOCHAI, which book the JEWS vulgarly imagine was written before the time of CHRIST. MARIANA adds, that he believes, that there are many other *Rabbinical Writings* which he had never seen or heard of, the reading of which ought not to be permitted even to the learned: And he then gives us a list of such *Rabbinical Writings*, as wise men might read with the permission of the *Inquisition*.

WHEREFORE when the reading of the *Rabbinical Writings* was thus forbidden, it is no wonder that their MSS. disappeared so totally, as not to be found in private libraries — Nay even the printed *Rabbinical Works* were not to be had in the Booksellers shops: In so much, that only a few of them are to be seen in the Library of the ESCURIAL, in that of the church of TOLEDO, and in that of the College of SAN ILDEPHONSO at ALCALA DE HENARES.

THERE are however in some of our Universities the professors chairs still remaining, in order to fulfill *nominally* the academic constitutions. In my time I remember two instances, when a Professor's chair in one of them was to be filled up, that not one of *three* candidates was able to read a chapter of the Hebrew Bible

Bible off hand. And yet, in the Universities of SALAMANCA, and VALENTIA, we have public Professors of *Hebrew*; but these have no pupils; for how can that be learnt which is not taught.

—This therefore is the true state of the case, the study of *Hebrew* in SPAIN was revived by XIMENES, and died with the disciples of the great MONTANUS.

As to the ARABIC language in this country, I will be somewhat more diffuse upon that subject, because there are more monuments and MSS. of it remaining, but which remain so, as to be almost hidden treasures. The MOORS extended their Arabic language in proportion as they enlarged their conquests in SPAIN, as you may see in ALDRETI'S *Origin of the Castilian Language*, chap. 22.

IT is no wonder therefore, that there were many in SPAIN who were not only ambitious of glory in arms, but in letters; especially during the fierce contentions of so many petty rival Kings, and in a country the most fruitful of great geniuses. The ARABS in SPAIN chiefly studied Philosophy, Mathematicks, and Physick: In the *first*, principally Logic and Metaphysics; in the *second*, Arithmetic and Geometry; in the *third*, Botany and Chemistry.

ABU-NAZAR, AL-PHATAH, a native of HISPALIS, or SEVILLE, who wrote about the State of Learning in SPAIN, has told us how many, and what great men among these *Arabs*, have left works behind them in that language.

EBN ALKHALIB MAHOMAD, BEN ABDALLAH left likewise, in four large folio volumes, an *Arabico-Spanish-Bibliothèque*, containing the lives of the several Caliphs, Generals, Philosophers, Poets, and learned women, among the *Arabs*, who lived in SPAIN. These two last mentioned excellent works, are both of them still existing in the Library of the ESCURIAL. See to this purpose, *Nic. Antonii Bibliothec. Hispan.* num. 8, 9. the Preface to which work is a very learned performance.

AMONG

AMONG the Kings of SPAIN, ALPHONSUS THE WISE is almost the only one who had any regard for the Arabic language: By his order ABRAHAM ABENZOHAR translated out of Arabic into the Spanish, HAZALQUI's book of *Judicial Astrology*: And JUDAS, the son of MUSCE, translated the entire book of HALI, the son of ABENRAGEB, upon the same subject, which was afterwards translated into Latin by ÆGIDIUS DE TEBALDIS. Besides, JUDAS, the son of RABBI MOSES HACKEN, a canon of TOLEDO, translated into Latin, by the order of ALPHONSUS, the Astronomical Works of AVICENA, from the Arabic: And the same Prince ordered the book, concerning all kinds of *Astro-labes* and their use, concerning the number and distances of the stars, to be translated from the *Chaldee* into the Spanish tongue. This book that great man HONORETES JOHANNES ordered to be transcribed from the Library at ALCALA DE HENARES, and to be deposited in that of the ESCURIAL.

THE University of SALAMANCA contributed greatly to the increase of Arabic learning; for in that University there were eminent Professors of Physic, who studied and followed the systems of the Arabs: For the Arabs first raised that necessary art into repute in EUROPE, when it was fallen to a very low ebb. These men first introduced the true practice of their art, by uniting the knowledge of the causes of distempers, with the prudent application of the properest remedies.

BUT when things were come to that pass, that the *Christians* began to apprehend that the *Moors* would subdue their conquerors in their turn, they took all the precautions to be secure against them, which fear naturally inspires. This was done many ways. It only belongs to my present subject to say, that the use of the *Arabic* tongue was forbidden to the *Moors* of GRANADA, as FERDINADO VALOR tells us in that eloquent speech, in which he complains with great address, of the persecutions of his countrymen. See *Did. Hurt. de Mendoza, in his Hist. of the War of Granada, Book 1. Sect. 7.*

AT VALENTIA likewise, in the year 1568, were published the CONSTITUTIONS of the Archbishop of VALENTIA, the Bishop of SEGORVE, the Bishop of DERTOSA, the Bishop of ORIHUCLA, the Commissary General for Profelytes, the Inquisitor of VALENTIA, the Count de BENAVENTE, Viceroy and Captain-General of VALENTIA: And by these Constitutions it was ordered, that whenever the Moors should make a *Will*, it should be written in the Valentian or Castilian tongues; if it was made in any other language, it should be void and of no force. Besides this, LEWIS BERTRAND, a man of a very severe disposition, writing in 1579 to JOHN RIBERA, Patriarch of ANTIOCH, and a man of the highest prudence; BERTRAND, speaking of the best method of converting the Moors to Christianity, says, that the Arabic tongue ought to be prohibited in the kingdom of VALENTIA, as it had before been in the kingdom of GRANADA: For says he, the women and children continue in their unbelief, only because they do not understand the sermons of our Spanish Monks and Confessors. See the Letter at the end of *the Life of John Ribera, printed, Rome, 1734, and written by John Ximenez.*

BUT it is certain, that other men of great piety and discretion, were of a different opinion in this matter. FERNANDO TALAVERA, Archbishop of GRANADA, as we are told by FR. BER. DE PEDRAZA, part iv. c. 10. of his Hist. of GRANADA, seriously said, That he would very willingly lose both his eyes, provided he could be such a master of Arabic, as to teach and preach the word of GOD with skill: And he advised the parochial priests to learn that language, in order to instruct the Moors. See *Jos. de Siguenza, Part. iii. of the Hist of the Jeromites, c. 34.* The Archbishop too persuaded PETER DE ALCALA, a Franciscan, to compose an *Arabic Vocabulary*, from which most excellent book you can only learn the *Arabisms* in our language. Concerning the scarcity of this book, see *Antiquit. Hisp. pr. Bern. Aldreti, Lib. 1. c. 10. and my Origenes.*

BESIDES, *Martin Perez de Ayala*, Archbishop of VALENTIA, a man of uncommon learning and rare piety, in order to instruct

new

new converts to Christianity in VALENTIA, ordered to be printed, in 1566, Institutes of the Christian Religion in the *Arabic* and *Castilian* languages; in two columns, one in the common, the other in the Italic character, that priests, who were ignorant of the Arabic, might know how to pronounce the Arabic words. Observe only, what a general ignorance of the Arabic prevailed in SPAIN at that time. That the Spanish clergy knew as little of it in the beginning of the seventeenth century, appears from the testimony of JAMES BLEDA, in his *Moorish Chronicle of SPAIN*, page 84. In the time of RODRIGO CARO, who published the *Antiquities of SEVILLE* in 1634, there was no one there who understood the Arabic tongue, as he tells us, Book I. chap. 23.

WHEN there were discovered some plates at GRANADA, with Inscriptions on them, in the year 1595, PEDRO DE CASTRO, Archbishop of SEVILLE, when he came to that *See*, invited thither THOMAS ERPENIUS, who was reviving the Arabic learning at that time: His design was, that ERPENIUS should have interpreted those *plates*; but he would not accept of the invitation, as JOHN VOSSIUS tells us in his panegyric on the death of that great man.

FROM such a total ignorance of the Arabic tongue, you may easily conjecture the contempt it lay under at that period. The Christians always burnt, in those days, whatever they found written in that language. If you look into the *Scaligerana*, page 30 and 144, you will find some account of this matter, given upon the authority of B. A. MONTANUS, who says, that the Arabic MSS. burnt in those days, in the several branches of learning, such as Philosophy, Divinity, Physic, and Mathematics, were then valued at above 100,000 *crowns*. The Moors fearing this, carefully hid their Arabic MSS. in the cavities of walls, or other obscure places.

THE *Manuscript-Burners* seemed to have been possessed with the same spirit, as OMAR, the Saracen Caliph, who burnt the Alexandrian Library. See ALBUPHARAJUS, in his *History of the Saracenic Dynasties*, page 181, and POCOCK's Translation, p. 119.

These Book-burning Bigots seem to have imitated the example of JOHN ZUMARAGA, the first Bishop of MEXICO, who commanded every body to burn all the *Indian Histories* they could meet with, because he thought all the symbolic figures in those Indian MSS. were idols. See JEAN TURRECREMATA's *Hist. of the Indian Monarchy*, Book III. chap. 6.

THE MOORS, as I said before, carefully hid their MSS. in the cavities of walls, or other obscure places. By this means some of them now and then appear, which have been found in the ruins of old houses. This hath very often happened in my time, and particularly at *Bugarra*, which is a little town in VALENTIA, where, about twenty-six years ago, were found some Arabic MSS. covered over with spartum, a Spanish plant, to preserve them from the wet; and the whole was concealed by layers of bricks. Two of these MSS. I sent elegantly bound to JOHN V. King of PORTUGAL: Another I have by me, damaged by the wet, and wanting the beginning and ending, but I will send it to DAVID MICHAEL, if he pleases, to shew him how willing I am to oblige him.

In the year 1754, in a little town belonging to the Bishopric of ALBARRACIN, a large city in ARRAGON, they found in the cavity of a wall, upon stone shelves, above 144 volumes of Arabic MSS. That these might be preserved, I desired Don FRANCISCO RAVAGO, the King's Confessor, to acquaint his Majesty with the discovery. The King immediately ordered them to be sent for; and that part of them which could be found, has been taken care of. The common people in SPAIN imagine, that these Arabic MSS. contain some secret verses, and that they are a sort of Magic Charm, by the help of which you may discover hidden treasure; therefore, whenever they find these MSS. they hide them, and set a great value upon them. Whenever they try the virtue of this charm, they always get a *Moor*, who can read the Arabic, and who pretends to milk a goat with a *sieve*. This custom the Spaniards learnt from the Moors, as you may see in JOHN LEO's *Description of AFRICA*, Book III.

You see that the Christians in SPAIN ceased to speak the Arabic tongue, when they began to govern the Moors and hold them under subjection : The Moors were then forbid the use of their own language, so that in the end, the Arabic tongue became in this country a dead language. See ALDRETI's *Origin of the Castilian Tongue*, Book I. chap. 13.

MANY of the Arabic MSS. were burnt ; and many were transported out of SPAIN into AFRICA. Three thousand Arabic MSS. were carried thither by one Ambassador only, who came from ALGIERS to the Court of MADRID. See JOHN LEO's Description of AFRICA, Book IV. p. 523.

ADD to all this, the want of Arabic types in the Printing-houses in SPAIN, as you may see in the royal licence prefixed to ALDRETI's *Spanish Antiquities*, and that in a time too, when I may say, without any injury to the present, that there was more sound learning studied than there is now. Besides, we have no Arabic Professor in any of our Universities. You cannot find, I do not say an Arabic MS. but not even an Arabic printed book, in any of our booksellers shops : In no private library that I know of, is there an Arabic MS. to be seen. Nor do I remember to have read of any in the printed catalogues of our most celebrated *Spanish Libraries*; such as those of Don ANT. AUGUSTINO, Don GABRIEL SORA, LORENZO RAMIREZ DE PRADO, the Marquez MONTALEGRE, EMMANUEL PANTOJA, ANDRES GONZALEZ BARCIA, all which I have by me. The only person in SPAIN in my memory, who had any considerable number of books in the Eastern Languages, was Don LUCAS CORTEZ : His library was, after his death, sold by auction for a trifle.

BUT to say the truth, nothing so much prejudiced the study of the Arabic and the Eastern Languages in this country, as that pride with which gentlemen of the court have always treated the Professors of those tongues. RODRIGO GOMEZ, of the house of SYLVA, when somebody was praised in his company for his great skill in languages, asked if the man understood the *Castilian* tongue likewise? Yes he does, replied the other. Very well,
says

says GOMEZ, that's enough ; it is the only language we speak at court ; and as for all the rest, they are not worth puzzling one's head about them. And yet for all this, there are a great number of *Hebrew and Arabic* MSS. in the ESCURIAL Library. For the most learned men in SPAIN, out of compliment to PHILIP II. presented him with the best and rarest books, to adorn that collection. But that I may confine myself to such books only as belong to my subject, DID. HURTADO DE MENDOZA left his books by will to PHILIP II. which books were carried into the ESCURIAL Library in 1575, as JOS. DE SIGUENZA tells us, in his *History of the Jeromite brotherhood*, Book III. page 3. who says, that there were among them many Greek, Arabic, and Latin MSS. There were of *Arabic* alone, in this legacy of MENDOZA's, about 400, relating to science and history, as MENDOZA himself says, in a letter of his to JEROM SURITA, which you may read in *The progress of History in the kingdom of ARRAGON*, published by Don DID. JOS. DORMER.

BUT here let me take notice of three mistakes made by JAMES AUGUSTUS DE THOU, or him who wrote the *Thuana*. It is there said, that DIDACO MENDOZA wrote *the History of the INDIES*, whereas ANTONIO DE MENDOZA wrote it. He confounds DIDACO with FERNANDO MENDOZA, the last of whom died mad ; for DIDACO died by the amputation of a leg, as ANTONIO PEREZ tells us.—Lastly, DE THOU says, that the Spaniards are wont to die mad, which is a notorious falshood.

B. A. MONTANUS gave also to the ESCURIAL Library many MSS. in Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek, as SIGUENZA tells us. I pass over others, who gave fine Oriental MSS. to the same Library. Besides, LEWIS FAXARDO, who was High Admiral to PHILIP III. took from the Turks, in one engagement, 3000 Arabic MSS. which were all placed in the ESCURIAL, as FR. DE LOS SANTOS tells you in the history of that Convent.

BUT, to the irreparable loss of the republic of Letters, the greatest part of the Oriental MSS. and particularly the Arabic, were burnt in the year 1674, as NIC. ANTONIO tells you in the pre-
face

face to his *Spanish Bibliothegue*. The fire began June the 7th, and lasted fifteen successive days, as LOS SANTOS relates. FAX-ARDO's MSS. were all burnt, except the *Alcoran*, and some few others.

YET still a great number of Oriental MSS. and particularly *Arabic*, remain there. And to speak of the Arabic only, there are in the ESCURIAL Library above 200 Arabic Grammarians, many more Rhetoricians, Orators, Poets, &c. MICHAEL CASIRI, a Syrian, the Royal Librarian, hath printed a catalogue of these, of which only the first volume is published. The title of it is, SPECIMEN BIBLIOTHECÆ REGIÆ, ARABICO-HISPANÆ, ESCORIALENSIS; the first sheet of which I now send you, which I received from the King's Confessor. When this work comes out, the republic of Letters will know what vast treasures lie hid in that monastery. So that the words of Master LEO, related by ANT. PEREZ, will seem almost prophetic; who said, that "the ESCURIAL collection of books would become hereafter a noble monument of royal magnificence; but that it would not be a library, but a sepulchre."

MANY learned men have complained loudly of this burying books alive, if I may be allowed the expression. MARIANA, in his tract *de Rege et Regis institutione*, Lib. III. Cap. 9. says, "The ESCURIAL Library is built over the *Vestibulum*, in length 185 feet, and 30 feet broad: it contains many Greek MSS. most of them of a venerable antiquity, which were brought from all parts of EUROPE in great abundance. These treasures, which are more valuable than gold, deserve to have a freer access of the learned, to inspect and examine them. For, what advantage can be derived to the public from such captives as these, imprisoned as it were by royal authority?"

I pass over the complaints of others. Monsieur BAUTRU, when he came into SPAIN, and had seen the ESCURIAL Library, went to the King, and talked with his Majesty about it; and said, among other things, that the Librarian of the ESCURIAL was a very fit man to be entrusted with such a royal treasure.

Why

Why so? says the King. Because, replied BAUTRU, as it is plain he has stole none of the books, you may be sure he will never diminish your Majesty's treasure.

THE collecting those books together, was, in one respect, very providential; for, where would they have been now, if they had not been preserved there? They are of no great use indeed, because the custody of them is given to a set of illiterate monks, who, as DEAN MARTI said, envy others what they make no use of themselves. JOHN BAPTIST CARDONA, Bishop of DERTOSA, when he wrote to PHILIP II. concerning this library, advised him "to chuse a Librarian for it, who was well skilled in
" the Latin and Greek tongues, and who should know tho-
" roughly the classical writers; for, as to the Hebrew and Ori-
" ental tongues, your Majesty may easily procure *Rabbins* for that
" purpose. There are now at ROME some *Rabbins*, who are
" converted to Christianity, men of piety and learning, such as
" ANDREW, JULLIUS, and PAULLUS, men of note there. Your
" Majesty must likewise send for a PERSIAN, and a TURK, and
" so on for each foreign language.—There is now living one
" STEPHANUS, brought up in SOLYMAN's court, and a great
" favourite of his. This man, who commanded two gallies,
" was taken in an engagement at sea, and is now supported by a
" pension from the king at NAPLES. He would be a very proper
" person, and would certainly be of more use to your Majesty,
" than to the King of NAPLES, for his singular knowledge of
" Turkish affairs."—No one would certainly say, that the
EscURIAL Library was of no use in the time of MONTANUS,
who was Librarian there. But such men as he are still wanting,
to make that collection truly useful.

THE *Hebrew* and *Arabic* MSS. in SPAIN are written either on *Parchment*, or on *Paper*; the antiquity of which latter you may gather from an *Instrument*, still preserved in the Chamber of Royal Archives at BARCELONA. This instrument was drawn in 1178, and, from the nearness of the two periods, I conjecture, that this fine Spanish writing-paper was made at the famous SÆ-

TABIS,

TABIS, afterwards called XATIVA, and now SAN PHILIPPE *. The GEOGRAPHUS NUBIENSIS, who wrote about the year 1150, or perhaps a little before, says, "SÆTABIS is a most beautiful city, and its environs are so delightful, as to be made a proverb of; they make their paper of a most incomparable fineness."—It is no wonder this city should be so celebrated for its *Paper Fabric*, for CATULLUS has taken notice of its fine handkerchiefs, the *Sudaria Sætaba*, as he calls them: And PLINY tells us, *Lino Sætabi tertia in Europa dabatur palma*. SILIUS ITALICUS too, and GRATIAN, have sung its praises.

FROM MSS. the transition to *Medals* is very easy. Count MIGAZZI, now Archbishop of VIENNA, when he was at MADRID, Ambassador to the court of SPAIN, obtained, by my means, 320 Silver Coins, 11 Brass Coins, and one Gold Coin, all of them *Arabic monies*, struck in SPAIN, and in good preservation: The interpretation of these, if published, would be a new thing, and highly acceptable to the learned.

YOU will not be permitted to collate any of our MSS. without the King's leave. We have, besides, no Spaniard able enough to assist DAVID CLEMENS in collating an Oriental MSS. but CASIRI, and he has no leisure for it.

From OLIVA, in VALENTIA, December 23d, 1758.

* This city, which is so often mentioned by the Roman poets and writers, was in VALENCIA, and stood on the banks of the river XUCAR: It was very finely built, and the situation of it was delightful. Unfortunately it declared, in the year 1706, for the Arch-duke CHARLES. The year following, the Count D'ASFELDT besieged and took it, and put all the inhabitants to the sword that bore arms; few escaped but women and children. The citadel capitulated soon after, where they made 800 English prisoners of war. PHILIP ordered the city to be razed and levelled with the ground, and, on the spot where it stood, they erected a column, with this inscription—"HERE WAS ONCE A CITY NAMED XATIVA, WHICH, AS A PUNISHMENT FOR ITS TREASON, AND ITS REVOLT AGAINST ITS KING AND COUNTRY, HAS BEEN LEVELLED EVEN TO THE GROUND. In the year 1707, they rebuilt, by PHILIP's order, a new city on the same spot, and it is now called SAN PHILIPPE.

L E T T E R X V I I I .

*An EPISTLE written by DON GREGORIO MAYANS, to the late
SIR BENJAMIN KEENE, containing a full Account of the
COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOTT, &c. &c.*

MAY it please your EXCELLENCY! You having hinted to me, that you desired some information concerning the COMPLUTENSIAN BIBLE, and those MSS. which the learned editors of that work made use of, if they were any where now in being, I shall endeavour to give your Excellency all the intelligence on that point in my power.

DON ALVARO GOMEZ, who wrote the Life of Cardinal XIMENES, says, * “ That XIMENES, fearing lest the sacred mysteries of our religion should suffer some detriment, from the Scriptures being ill understood, began most timely to be apprehensive, lest the Spaniards should become entire strangers, and totally unacquainted with the books of THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT.”

† DON ANTONIO DE LEBRISA tells us, in the preface to his *Apologia*, how despised and neglected the knowledge of the learned languages was at that time, and how little the professors of them were esteemed. This state of ignorance continued to the

* Book II. p. 36, 38.

† i. e. ANTONIUS NEBRISSENSIS.

days of MONTANUS, and MARIANA*, and I wish it did not continue now.

GOMEZ adds, “ That XIMENES, therefore, (in imitation of
 “ the great ORIGEN, who with amazing diligence put together
 “ all the translations of the Bible then extant, and united them
 “ in those famed HEXAPLA) ordered an edition of the Bible to
 “ be set on foot, to remedy this evil. In that edition, the books
 “ of the *Old Testament* are divided into three columns. In the
 “ first column is placed the *Hebrew*, in the middle the *Vulgate*,
 “ in the third the LXX. and its translation. At the bottom of
 “ the page is placed the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, with its Latin trans-
 “ lation.—But the *New Testament* has the most correct Greek
 “ text possible, with the *Vulgate*. In the last volume is added a
 “ dictionary of Hebrew words and phrases, admired by the skil-
 “ ful in that language. This addition was much wanted in some
 “ Bibles, through the carelessness of those who kept them, and
 “ was a great detriment to the reader. This undertaking of
 “ Cardinal XIMENES was highly laborious, magnificent, and
 “ great; it not only required a man of his eminence, but of his
 “ abilities likewise, to surmount all the difficulties which at-
 “ tended such a work: He therefore sent for men of letters,
 “ well skilled in the Greek and Latin languages, to assist him.
 “ These were, first, DEMETRIUS CRETENSIS, by birth a
 “ Greek, whom AUBERTUS MIRÆUS tells us †, XIMENES had
 “ sent for out of ITALY, by offering a large premium. Second-
 “ ly, ANTO. of LEBRISA: It was owing to this man’s sole ad-
 “ vice, that XIMENES undertook an edition of that *Complutensian*
 “ *Bible*, as ANTO. tells us in his *Apologia*, which is a very valu-
 “ able work. In that you will see the envy and ill will which
 “ this great reviver of Spanish learning experienced, for his en-
 “ deavours to make it flourish in the university of SALAMANCA.
 “ In the beginning of his book, he thus addresses the Cardinal.

“ MAY it please your Eminence! I am in doubt, whether my
 “ genius did not owe me a grudge, when it prompted me to

* See B. A. MONT. on JOSUA, and MARIANA’s Defence of the Vulgate, Chap. 8:
 26. &c.

† Scriptor. Sæculi XVI. Cap. 45. P. 140.

“ think of nothing, but what was difficult, to attempt only
 “ great enterprises, to publish nothing but what occasioned
 “ me much hatred and ill-will. Had I given my time to visiting
 “ my friends ; had I spent my night watchings in fable and poetical fiction ; had I read or wrote history ; had I flattered the
 “ living or the dead ; I might have had the united applause of all
 “ the SPAINS : But now, because I labour after the meat which
 “ does not perish, and, as JEROM says, trace out on earth that
 “ knowledge which only abideth in Heaven ; because I am thus
 “ employed, I am called impious, sacrilegious, a false Catholic,
 “ and I am in some danger of being summoned in chains to plead
 “ my cause before the Inquisition as an heretic : there will not
 “ be wanting an accuser ; there are those who are ready and willing enough.—So that I may apply to myself very justly those
 “ words of ECCLESIASTES, He that increaseth knowledge increaseth trouble.—If, Sir, it is the duty of a legislator to reward the wise and good, and to punish the wicked and heretical subject,—What are you doing, great Cardinal, in that government, where, &c.”

I omit the rest, because I *dare not* transcribe it. This great man, therefore, was one of the chief compilers of the Complutensian Bible.

GOMEZ adds, “ That XIMENES sent likewise for * LOPEZ ASTUNICA, or DE ZUNIGA, as we Spaniards write it ; he sent also for FERNANDUS PINTIANUS, whose Spanish name is FERNANDO NUNEZ DE GUSMAN, a native of VALLADOLID, which is vulgarly called PINTIA. How eminent this man was for his knowledge in the Latin and Greek tongues, may be seen in JUSTUS LIPSIUS, A. SCHOTTUS, N. ANTONIUS, and many others †.” But whereas GOMEZ tells us, that PINTIANUS’s works were in every one’s hands in his time, it was not so in 1580.

* See Critici SS. Tom. ix. p. 2. col. 3552. A. Schotti Hisp. Bibl. Tom. iii. p. 584.

† DE THOU, Lib. xi. p. 401. L. XXI. p. 727.

GOMEZ adds, " That XIMENES sent for these men, who were
 " eminent Greek and Latin professors, and whose works were in
 " every one's hands; and for ALPHONSUS, a Physician at ALCA-
 " LA DE HENARES, * PAULUS CORONELLUS, ALPHONSUS ZA-
 " MORA †, all eminent *Hebræans*. These had been public pro-
 " fessors of that language in their schools, but having afterwards
 " taken holy orders, they were very properly sent for by Cardi-
 " nal XIMENES, to execute so great a work, which would require
 " their virtue, their learning, and their perseverance. With
 " these men the *Cardinal* consulted about the plan; promised to
 " support them most liberally with money; and invited them se-
 " parately to undertake the work, by giving them large presents.
 " Above all, the *Cardinal* recommended to them the utmost dis-
 " patch, Lest, says he, as all human things are uncertain, you
 " should lose so willing a patron to this work, or I should lose
 " such able assistants, whose company, and whose labours, I va-
 " lue more than the Archbishopric of TOLEDO.—This speech of
 " the Cardinal's had its effect, and these learned men never ceased
 " their labours till they had finished the work. They first sent
 " for all the MSS. of both Testaments, which could be pro-
 " cured, in order to fix the purest new text, to amend the errors
 " of the old, to settle the true reading of doubtful passages, and
 " to explain the obscure."

THE greatest part of these MSS. particularly of the Old Testa-
 ment, were fetched from the Jewish synagogues, and principally
 from those of TOLEDO and MAQUEDA. These were easily to be
 come at, because the Jews had been driven out of SPAIN ten years
 before, in 1492. These MSS. were afterwards chained down to
 the shelves in the college of SAN. ILDEPHONSO, at ALCALA DE
 HENARES, by the order of the CARDINAL, and yet, notwith-
 standing that caution, many of them were afterwards stolen.

GOMEZ adds, " But the most useful collection of MSS. to XI-
 " MENES, was that of the *Vatican Library*, which were of a
 " most venerable antiquity."

* See COLMENARES Hist. SEGOV. p. 707.

† This man did the 6th volume of the Polyglott.

THIS appears plainly by a letter of the CARDINAL's to LEO X. prefixed to the PENTATEUCH; "For," says he, "we can fairly testify to your Holiness, that our greatest care has consisted in employing the most able linguists, and in procuring the most ancient and most correct MSS. from all quarters. With incredible pains we collected an amazing multitude of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin MSS. It was to your Holiness that we owed the Greek MSS. for you very politely sent us the most ancient MSS. of the Old and New Testament from that Apostolic library, and which were of the greatest use to us in this work."—The same CARDINAL, in his preface to the reader, says, "With regard to the Greek part of Scripture, you must know, that we did not take any vulgar or common MSS. for to fix our text, but the most ancient and most correct, which Pope LEO X. sent me from the Vatican; MSS. of such integrity, that if you cannot credit these, you can credit none.—To these we have added not a few, partly transcribed from that most correct MS. of BESSARION, sent me by the senate of VENICE, and partly procured by me at vast labour and expence.

"WE have also compared JEROM's Latin version with many MSS. of the greatest antiquity, particularly with those in the public library of my university at ALCALA DE HENAREZ, which are in *Gothic characters*, and were written above 800 years ago, and with such amazing exactness, that you cannot discover the omission of a tittle throughout; yet some of the proper names, which were wrong spelt, by a mistake of the copyist, we let remain designedly as they were."

BESIDES the *Vatican* and *Venetian* library, MIRAEUS tells us, they made use too of the *Medicæan*.

GOMEZ adds, "These Vatican MSS. were sent to the Cardinal by Pope LEO X. who admiring the magnificent spirit of XI-MENES, conceived the greatest opinion of him; and that Pope sent to him afterwards for his advice in matters of high importance to the Romish church, though the Cardinal was then in
" AFRICA.

“ AFRICA.—The version of the Seventy was done partly by
 “ Complutenſian ſcholars, partly by DEMETRIUS, PINTIANUS,
 “ and ASTUNICA; and was ſo happily executed, that nothing
 “ was omitted in the verſion, of the force of thoſe Græciſms,
 “ which are ſo frequent in the Seventy.

“ AMONG the learned men called together upon this occaſion,
 “ was JOHN VERGARA, who had *the Books of Wiſdom* for his
 “ lot. He reſtored the text of them in many places, as he has
 “ often ſaid himſelf; and when very old, he uſed to wiſh for
 “ nothing ſo much at his leiſure, as to publiſh ſome ſcholia on
 “ ECCLESIASTICUS; but his ill health prevented that deſign.”

THIS JOHN VERGARA was afterwards a canon of TOLEDO;
 he not only tranſlated the Books of Wiſdom from the Seventy into
 Latin, but added a comment likewise *.—Yet this great man
 was afterwards thrown into the *Inquiſition*, in April 1534, by AL-
 PHONSUS MANRICUS, Inquiſitor General, as L. VIVES tells
 ERASMUS, in one of his † Epistles: But VERGARA got happily
 out of that priſon again, and lived to 1558.

GOMEZ adds,—“ They were employed in this work from the
 “ year 1502, more or leſs, fifteen years; that one may almoſt
 “ ſay, that the Cardinal’s life, and the edition of this work, end-
 “ ed at the ſame period.—It would take me up too much time
 “ to give a minute detail of the labour and trouble thoſe Editors
 “ went through, in comparing and examining the MSS. while
 “ XIMENES in the mean while had perpetual avocations with the
 “ affairs of ſtate.”

THE Complutenſian Bible was begun in 1502, and began to
 be printed juſt ten years afterwards, in 1512: It was finiſhed in
 1517. This was the very year in which XIMENES died.—

GOMEZ adds,—“ With regard to the whole expence of this
 “ edition of the Complutenſian Polyglott, you muſt know firſt,

* See DE THOU, Lib. xxi. c. 11.

† Tom. II. p. 676.

“ that

“ that only seven Hebrew MSS. which are now at ALCALA
 “ DE HENARES, were bought by ALPHONSUS ZAMORA, Pro-
 “ fessor of Hebrew, in different countries, at a no less sum than
 “ § 4000 crowns, as was heard from his own mouth.”

LIST of HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS now preserved at ALCALA
 DE HENARES.

1. Hebrew Bible, written in the ninth century.
2. Ditto, written in the twelfth century.
3. One volume of the Hebrew Bible, no date.
4. Hebrew Pentateuch, no date.
5. Two volumes of a Chaldee Bible.

LIST of GREEK MANUSCRIPTS there.

1. Greek Bible, modern character.
2. Greek Psalter, very old character.

LATIN MANUSCRIPTS there.

1. Bible, in Gothic characters, almost 1000 years old.
2. Bible, almost as old, as appears by the character.
3. Bible in two volumes, twelfth century.
4. ST. PAUL's Epistles, with a gloss.
5. The New Testament, with notes.

GOMEZ adds,——“ To say nothing of the Greek and the La-
 “ tin MSS. the former of which came from ROME ; the latter
 “ from foreign countries, and from the several Libraries in
 “ SPAIN ; particularly those in Gothic characters, which are
 “ above 800 years old, were brought to ALCALA DE HENARES
 “ at a vast expence.—Then, if you reckon the wages of the
 “ type-founders and amanuenses, the rewards given to the learn-
 “ ed Editors, the sums paid to messengers and agents, and
 “ other servants ; all this together will make the whole expence
 “ above * 50,000 crowns ; which I have heard the oldest peo-
 “ ple say was the sum.”

§ He means the Half Pistole ; it is almost 2000 l.

* Above 20,000 l. sterling.

BUT as BENEDICTUS ARIAS MONTANUS published our *Royal edition of the Bible*, and made use of some Complutensian MSS. which the Cardinal's editors could not do, it will not be improper here to give some account of that very great man.

MONTANUS was born at FREGENAL DE LA SIERRA; *Sierra* signifies in Spanish a ridge of mountains, and therefore he was called MONTANUS; this village being under the jurisdiction of the city of HISPALIS, he therefore calls himself *Hispalensis*. MONTANUS was the first person who obtained a lawrel crown in the University of SALAMANCA in the year 1552. He was a man of the greatest probity, strongest talents, and uncommon judgement; could write with a masterly style, either in prose or verse, and had amazing skill in languages: He was a master of the *Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Arabic, French, Dutch, English*, and *Teutonic* languages. MONTANUS says himself, in his comment on *Isaiab*, that he knew thirteen languages. Besides this, he was a good poet, as well as a great scholar, and blended the Belles Lettres with his severer studies. It was very fortunate therefore for SPAIN, that when the copies of the Complutensian Bible began to be so scarce——(For there never were more printed of that edition than 600 volumes, that is, as I understand it, about 100 copies; as appears by comparing the Letters of LEO X. to the Bishop of AVILA, and the Archdeacon of CORDUBA. It was the printing so small a number, that has made the book so scarce,) that it possessed such a man as MONTANUS, who in conjunction with PLANTIN the printer, could stir up the mind of PHILIP II. to a greater work than that of the Complutensian Bible, though not so expensive. For PHILIP II. though he loved fame, was very covetous of his money; yet he consented to this work in 1578, and sent MONTANUS into HOLLAND with orders to re-print the COMPLUTENSIAN BIBLE, with improvements. For MONTANUS had made use of *seven* Hebrew MSS. which XIMENES procured from VENICE, but could not make use of himself: And MONTANUS had likewise a MSS. Latin Version of the Chaldee Paraphrase.

BUT this undertaking procured MONTANUS many enemies; so that he was twice cited before the Pope at ROME to plead his cause against a charge of Herefy. His chief enemies were *LEO DE CASTRO, a canon of VALLADOLID, Rhetoric Professor in SALAMANCA; and, what I am sorry to say, JOHN DE MARIANA, otherwise a great man; who out of envy to his learning, or his interest with PHILIP II. accused him to the *Inquisitor General*; and has left many marks of spleen against MONTANUS, in his *Defence of the Vulgate*.

FROM the accusations laid to his charge before the Pope, MONTANUS easily cleared himself in an APOLOGIA, or defence of himself, wrote on that occasion, as COLOMESIUS tells us. This was written in Spanish; and when the English about that time made a descent at CADIZ, they found this work there, and carried it into ENGLAND, and deposited it in the Bodleian Library, and preserved it as the greatest curiosity.

THIS is the same work which I desired your EXCELLENCE some time ago to procure for me out of ENGLAND, and which you told me could not be found at OXFORD. I still hope it will be found some time or other.—MONTANUS died in his own house at CAMPO FLORIDO, in the year 1598, and the seventy-first of his age.

LIST of MANUSCRIPTS in the Cathedral Library at TOLEDO.

1. LATIN Bible, in *Gothic* letter, upon parchment, large folio, written in 1026.

2. LATIN Bible, beginning with JOSHUA, and ending in the seventy-eighth PSALM, in folio, large parchment, and *Gothic* letter.

3. LATIN Bible, beginning with the second book of MACCABEES, then follows all the NEW TESTAMENT, and that is followed by TOBIAS; folio, large parchment, old character.

* See DE THOU, Lib. cxx. c. 18.

THERE are five Latin Bibles in all, one of them containing the third and fourth book of EXODUS.—These are all written in the thirteenth century, and on parchment.

4. BIBLE in Latin, with an interpretation of some Hebrew words, written on parchment, in the thirteenth century.

5. BIBLE in Latin, written on parchment, in the thirteenth century.

6. HEBREW Bible, containing all the Pentateuch, and the portions of the Psalms and Prophets appointed for each Sabbath; the Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther, and Ruth; written in the square Hebrew character, with the points or vowels; and with the Scholia of the Rabbins, on parchment.

OLIVA, June 1754.

L E T T E R X I X .

Of the ROYAL FAMILY and COURT of SPAIN. Of the present GENIUS, CHARACTER, and MANNERS of that Nation. Their HUMOURS, DIVERSIONS, and LANGUAGE.

DON CARLOS III. by the stile of his Catholic Majesty, King of SPAIN, was born in MADRID the 20th of January 1716. He was proclaimed King of NAPLES May 15th, and King of SICILY August 30th, 1734; entered SPAIN the 10th of August 1759, and was proclaimed King in MADRID, on the 11th of September following. The Kings of SPAIN are never crowned: instead of it, they make a public entry into MADRID, with great expence, pomp, and magnificence, which pleases the people much more, as they have an uncommon passion for shews and pageantry. The present Monarch made his public entry July the 13th, 1760; for an account of which, see Letter VII. p. 125. When he landed at BARCELONA, the Catalans stiled him *CARLOS Tercero, el verdadero*, or *CHARLES the third, the true Prince*, to distinguish him from the former CHARLES III. the Austrian Archduke, who was afterwards Emperor. The Spaniards had at that time so few sailors, that they had great difficulty *in manning* the fleet which brought him over.—In coming from BARCELONA to MADRID, he drove so fast as to make great destruction of the mules and horses that attended him. It is no uncommon thing for the guards that attend the Royal Family in this country, when they travel, to break a leg, an arm, or a neck; and
when

when this happens, his Majesty says, *Murio en su officio, he died in his duty*. A Mahometan, who made some stay at NAPLES, happening to see the present King of SPAIN driving in this *Jehu* taste, said to a friend—"Sir, is it any wonder that we 'Turks think you Christians quite mad?"—Though his Catholic Majesty is now in his forty-sixth year, yet shooting is still his ruling passion: He is the greatest *Nimrod* of his time; he sacrifices every thing to this favourite pleasure; he was disgusted at his public entry, because it hindered him of four days sport. He stayed three days at TOLEDO, and killed six wild mountain-cats, which, as I was well informed by those who had calculated the expence of that expedition, cost him exactly 1000 l. a cat. He is so eager at this diversion, that when the days are short, he often shoots by torch-light, an improvement which our English sportsmen are not arrived at. He is in his person tall, round shouldered, big boned, of a dark brown complexion, small eyed, and has a very large prominent Roman nose. From this description, it is easily seen that he is very plain.—His dress is as plain as possible, too homely for a Prince; he commonly wears a plain cloth frock, a leather waistcoat, leather breeches, boots, (always made in LONDON) a large pair of tanned gloves, and usually carries a gun upon his shoulder, and is attended by servants, carrying guns, powder, shot, water, wine, victuals, cloaths, &c. and frequently dead game, such as wolves, hares, rooks, gulls, &c. &c.—He rises at seven in the morning, opens his own shutters, writes what letters and dispatches he has to do, and then sets out, let it rain or shine, for the *chace*, or rather *shooting*, for he never hunts as we do in ENGLAND. It is his Catholic Majesty's constant maxim, *that rain breaks no bones*, and for this reason it never stops or suspends any thing he is engaged in, to the no small mortification of his attendants.—His suite on these occasions commonly consists of the Infant Don LEWIS, the great officer in waiting, usually the Duke de LOZADA, the Body-Guards, and three or four coaches and six, with which there is always a chirurgeon, in case of any accident. He returns from this diversion before noon, and dines regularly at eleven of the clock, and always in public, attended by the foreign ministers, and other people of distinction about the Court. He usually eats of six things, drinks

three

three times, and is not long at table.—After dinner he sets out to shoot again, and seldom returns till dark, or after. Then he hears his own Ministers of State for an hour, or assists at the *Despacho*, as they call it; after that he sits with the Queen Mother in her apartment, and goes to bed between nine and ten.—And this is the general and constant round of his Majesty's life. He goes in February or March every year, to the palace of the PARDO; in April to ARANJUEZ; returns in June to MADRID; sets out at the end of July for SAN ILDEPHONSO; goes in October to the ESCURIAL, and from thence, in November, to MADRID. He sometimes fishes for variety, and at other times has what they call a general *Battida*, which is the setting five or six hundred men to drive all the game they can meet, for many miles round, into toils of great extent; and then the King and DON LEWIS, (attended by the whole Court, ladies as well as gentlemen,) go and kill it. This makes great havock among the game, and is a very expensive diversion. The foreign Ambassadors always attend on these occasions.—

HAVING described his person, and way of life, I will now endeavour to give some idea of his temper, genius, and of the absolute power with which he reigns.—It has been imagined that he is a very weak prince, and of little or no understanding: It is a great mistake.—He has some parts, but is mulish and obstinate to the last degree; and by being constantly flattered, he imagines that he has more understanding than he really possesses. He is reserved beyond the common reserve of Princes, has no confidence, and communicates his will only by his orders to put it into execution.—He can neither be led nor driven; all must come from himself. Those things to which he has applied, he is a very compleat master of: He talks Italian, French, and Spanish fluently. He is an exceeding good *turner*, and has turned a multitude of things in the wooden-ware way. He looks minutely into most circumstances.—He has made with his own hands, every part of a soldier's dress, in order to be a judge of the true expence of their uniforms.—He told the foreign Ministers one day, that he had made a pair of shoes, Not indeed, says he, very good shoes, but such as might be walked in.—He shoots at a

mark with the greatest accuracy ; and I have often lamented, that he has not been presented with *Patent-shot* by our Ministry : I am not clear, that he would not have given up the *Logwood* trade for it.—To shew with what despotic sway he rules, it should be considered, that he allows no Minister to remonstrate or argue with him.—He removed the Duke of ALVA from Court, who had been the first Minister during all the late reign, and was very popular in the nation.—Though to save appearances, ALVA made a formal resignation in the month of December 1760. He banished the Dukes of ARCOS and OSSUNA from MADRID, on account of their amours with the Actresses, and put an Actress concerned in the common prison ; he arrested and banished the INQUISITOR GENERAL, and sent him prisoner to a convent. He engaged in the present war with ENGLAND, contrary to the sentiments of his Ministers, and in direct opposition to the voice of the whole nation.—He married June 19th, 1739, MARIA, AMALIA, CHRISTINA, daughter of AUGUSTUS III. King of POLAND, and Elector of SAXONY ; she was born November 24th, 1724, and died at MADRID September 27th, 1760.—I will now give some account of her.

THE late Queen AMALIA was a remarkably tall woman, with large bones and features, rather of a masculine appearance ; had no pretensions to beauty ; but then what she wanted in charms, was amply made up in spirit : The *Polish temper* was but too visible in the *Spanish Queen*. It has been observed of late, and I think with some truth, that the *Sovereign Ladies* of the NORTH have most of them been possessed of uncommon portions of this spirit : The late Empress of RUSSIA, the present, and MARIA THERESA, have been quoted as examples of it. How far this may be the effect of *climate*, I cannot say. AMALIA, who came from POLAND, had certainly much presence, fire, and strength of mind ; she resembled, in some respects, our Queen ELIZABETH ; for as that Princess, when ruffled in debate, would sometimes express her royal resentment, by striking her Ministers with her own hands ; so the late Queen AMALIA would sometimes give her Ladies of the Bedchamber a box on the ear. She was entirely governed by the *Dutchess of CASTROPINIANO*, a Neapolitan,

one

one of her *Camarera's*, who had gained a most unaccountable ascendant over her. It was observed, that the Queen's spirit, and the rapacious disposition of her *Confidante*, though they have often put his Majesty's temper to the trial, yet never could discompose that phlegmatic serenity so inseparable from his mind. He always preserved on such occasions, that respect and civility which is due to her sex. She had issue by his Catholic Majesty, six sons and two daughters.

1. PHILIP ANTONY, Duke of CALABRIA, disqualified for the succession, born June 14th, 1747.

2. CHARLES ANTONY, Prince of ASTURIAS, born in NAPLES, November 12th, 1748.

3. FERDINAND ANTONY, King of NAPLES and SICILY, born January 12th, 1751.

4. GABRIEL ANTONIO, Infant of SPAIN, born in NAPLES, May 11th, 1752.

5. ANTONIO PASQUAL, Infant of SPAIN, born in NAPLES, December 31st, 1755.

6. FRANCISCO XAVIER, Infant of SPAIN, born in NAPLES, February 17th, 1757.

1. MARIA JOSEPHA, Infanta of SPAIN, born in NAPLES, July 16th, 1744.

2. MARIA LUISA, Infanta of SPAIN, born in NAPLES, November 24th, 1745.

PHILIP V. who died July 11th, 1746, had four sons by his first wife, MARIA, LOUISA GABRIELLE, daughter of the Duke of SAVOY: LEWIS I. Don PHILIP, and Don PHILIP PEDRO GABRIELLE, who both died young, and FERDINAND VI. LEWIS died in 1724, after having reigned seven months; FERDINAND died aged forty-six, August 10th, 1759, after having reigned twelve years and some months.—By his second wife, ELIZABETH of PARMA, PHILIP had issue,

*

I. CHARLES

1. CHARLES III. the present King of SPAIN.
2. DON PHILIP, who died young.
3. DON PHILIP, Infant of SPAIN, Grand Prior of CASTILE, Duke of PARMA, PLACENCIA, and GUASTALLA, born March 15th, 1720, married to LOUISA ELIZABETH of FRANCE, in 1739, by whom he has one son and two daughters.
4. DON LEWIS ANTONIO JAYME, Infant of SPAIN, born July 25th, 1727; at present not married.
5. MARIA ANNA VICTORIA, the present Queen of PORTUGAL, born March 31st, 1718, and married March 31st, 1732.
6. MARIA THERESA, married in 1745 to the Dauphin of FRANCE, and died in childbed July 22d, 1746.
7. MARIA ANTONIA FERNANDA, born the 17th of November, 1729, married to the present Duke of SAVOY.

ELIZABETH FARNESE, the present Queen Dowager of SPAIN, was born October 25th, 1692. Her history is extremely well known in EUROPE; she has had no share in government or political matters, since PHILIP's death, whose memory she pays so much regard to, as to cry once every year on the day he died. On the accession of FERDINAND, she was banished to the palace of SAN ILDEPHONSO, where she remained with her son the Infant Don LEWIS, till his present Majesty's accession; who very dutifully recalled her to Court, but, to her great regret, would never admit her to the *Despacho*. As a DE MEDICIS by blood, she inherited the parts, spirit, and ambition of that family: *Two* of her sons she made Sovereign Princes; her silent plans at the *Escurial* frequently threw all EUROPE into convulsions, especially when carried into execution by the intriguing and bold hand of her favourite ALBERONI, and the knight errantry of RIPERDA.—She formed many spirited, though unsuccessful schemes, to make her *third son a third Sovereign*; and was at one time very near succeeding, by the marriage of Don LEWIS with the Princess of BRASIL.—She is of a middle stature, dark complexion, has great spirit in her countenance. Before she reached MADRID, in the route from PARMA, when she came to be married to PHILIP, and before she had seen the King, who went as far as GUA-

DALAXARA to meet her, she gave a specimen of what she would be when a *real* Queen, which was truly a coup d'eclat.—The *Princess of Ursins* had been for some time the reigning favourite in SPAIN; she had acquired such an ascendant over PHILIP and his first Queen, that she absolutely governed all. When ALBERONI, on her death, proposed the match of the *Duke of Parma's* niece to PHILIP V. it was even by the order of the Princess of URSINS, that ALBERONI wrote to found the Court of PARMA on that subject. Nay, the Princess of URSINS did more, she even went herself to meet the new Queen, as far as the confines of ARRAGON and NAVARRE; who in return for these civilities, ordered the officer on guard to arrest that *Princess* by force, and carry her out of SPAIN into FRANCE; which order was immediately executed. The *politick* Italian Princess knew very well that SPAIN was too narrow to hold her, and any other lady who dared to be a favourite of PHILIP's at the same time—And therefore thought the shortest process was to get rid of her at once. When you have made your use of the ladder by which you rise, the surest way in sound policy is to kick it down.—Most others would have attempted this, after they had been well seated in a throne; but few would have had spirit enough to have given such an order, in their very first steps and passage to it, and without even the knowledge or consent of that very Prince, whose favourite she banished, and whose future Queen she was designed to be.

ANOTHER instance of this Lady's genius may be the following: It is well known that PHILIP V. resigned his Crown to his son LEWIS I. who dying within the year, PHILIP, at the instigation of this Queen, resumed the scepter again. But afterwards growing, as every body has heard, out of his senses, in one of his fits, he sent a full resignation of his Crown and Government, without the knowledge of this Lady, to the Council of CASTILE: And when he thought the act irrevocable, he told ELIZABETH FARNESE of it, and added, “ Je vous ai trompé, Madame! J'ai en-
“ voié hier ma resignation de la Couronne d'Espagne au Concile de
“ Castille.” This, as you will easily imagine, sufficiently alarmed her Majesty:—But however she had the presence of mind instantly to send to the president of that Council for the resignation;

nor

nor had she only authority to command, but influence enough to be obeyed, for he sent it her immediately.

WHILE the late King FERDINAND was Prince of ASTURIAS, upon some disgust, she sent a message to FARINELLI never to go and sing or play any more in the Prince's or Princesses apartment. For the late Queen BARBARA was not only very fond of, but an excellent judge of *musick*. But FARINELLI's answer does immortal honour to that *Musician*. "Go, says he, and tell the " Queen, that I owe the greatest obligations to the Prince and " Princess of ASTURIAS; and unless I receive such an order from " her Majesty's own mouth, or the King's, I will never obey it."

THOUGH she is now seventy years old, she keeps the same hours that PHILIP did, and turns night into day. When she gives audience, she is held up by two supporters, being unable to stand long; and though almost blind, still retains her ancient spirit and vivacity. Her ambition will probably never expire but with her breath: And whenever she dies, I am persuaded her last words to the King will be, "*Remember TUSCANY for DON LUIS.*"

DON LEWIS ANTONIO JAYME, the King's brother, seems to be of a very different mold, without either his father's military genius, or his mother's ambition; of a pacific and quiet temper. He took a very early aversion to the *Crosier*, though made almost as soon as born, a Baby-Cardinal, and an Infant-Archbishop, for the two sees of TOLEDO and SEVILLE. Upon quitting however those dignities in the church, he reserved to himself about 7,400 *l. per annum*, out of the former, and about 5000 *l.* out of the latter. He seems to have much more inclination for a *gun* than for a *sceptre*, and spends most of his time in field sports: He has a strong turn for *mechanics*, and when not employed in shooting, is busied in making watches and mathematical instruments. He has some taste for *medals*; and the monks he has employed have made for him no inconsiderable collection of those antiquities.

THE Prince of ASTURIAS is a lively youth, and has begun his triumphs with great joy, over some sparrows shot by his own
 U u 2 hand.

hand. MARIANA tells us, B. 18. ch. 7. that this title of Prince of ASTURIAS, was given in imitation of our title of Prince of WALES.

FERDINAND, King of NAPLES, gives fair promises of being one day a very spirited Monarch.— He put on Majesty the moment his father embarked for SPAIN, with as much dignity and ease, as if his plaything had always been a sceptre.

THE Princesses JOSEPHA and LUISA, are both marriageable ; so that time will now soon discover whether they will add any new strength to the FAMILY COMPACT.

I cannot quit the *Court of SPAIN*, without observing the little pains it takes to be *popular*. They pay scarce any court to the *Grandeess* of the kingdom. They express publicly their dislike of the country, and are always preferring NAPLES to it. They employ foreigners preferably to natives, in posts at home, and embassies abroad. Can any circumstance more compleatly shew the *despotism* of that Monarchy ?

THE *Ministry*, or those who compose their *Council of State*, which answers to our *Privy Council*, are

1. THE Duke of ALVA ; a discarded, though an honest, old, and faithful Minister.
2. THE Marquez de VILLARAS, formerly known by the name of SEBASTIAN DE LA QUADRA.
3. THE Marquez de SALAS, absent.
4. THE Prince YACCHI, absent.
5. DON RICARDO WALL.
6. DON ALPHO. CLEM. DE AROSTEQUI.
7. DON PEDRO GORDILLO.

N. B. ALL these, as such, have the title of *Excellency*.

THEIR

THEIR *Secretaries of State*, and *Universal Dispatches*, are,

1. GENERAL WALL, first Secretary of State, Dispatch, and of War.
2. THE MARQUEZ DEL CAMPO DE VILLAR, Secretary of State, and of the Dispatch of Grace and Justice.
3. DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA, Secretary of State, and of the Dispatch of the Marine and INDIES.
4. THE MARQUEZ SQUILACCI, Secretary of State, and of the Dispatch of the Treasury, Superintendant-general of the Copper, and its distribution.

OF all these, General WALL, and the Marquez SQUILACCI, are the only *two ministers*, in our sense of that expression; the former *first Secretary of State*, and the latter *first Lord of the Treasury*. SPAIN has, for many years past, been under the direction of foreign *Ministers*. Whether this hath been owing to want of capacity in the natives, or disinclination in the Sovereign, I will not take upon me to say; such as it is, the native nobility lament it, as a great calamity. In looking back for above a *century* past, I find the ministers employed to be nearly half natives and half foreigners. Thus, the Conde Duke D'OLIVARES was a Spaniard, of the house of MEDINA SIDONIA, DON LUIS DE HARO was his nephew, EMANUEL DE LIRA a Spaniard, ALBERONI an Italian, RIPERDA a Dutchman, the Marquez DE BEDMAR a Spaniard, the Marquis DE GRIMALDO an Italian, the Marquez DE ENSENADA a Spaniard, known by the name of CENON DE SOMODEVILLA, DON JOSEPH CARVAJAL a Spaniard, Mr. WALL an Irishman, and the Marquis DE SQUILACCI a Neapolitan.

IT is well known, that Mr. WALL raised himself to that eminent station, which he now enjoys, by means which are usually the ruin of most others, I mean gallantry and gaming. Not but that his parts and merit are otherwise very conspicuous. The *Marquis's* fort I take to consist in his abilities as a *Financier*, his understanding thoroughly *Ways and Means*, as we call it, and the making very ample provision for the crown. He has put the

King upon some useful projects, and upon others seemingly as detrimental. Paving and cleaning the streets of the CAPITAL, and making new roads, were works worthy of a minister; his edicts against old hats and old cloaks, of no moment; his negligence in bringing robbers and murderers to justice, certainly culpable; his establishing a new manufacture of *Rappè*, ill executed, and ill dropped so soon after it was set on foot; you rarely find a minister a good tobacco-nist; and by his discouraging the manufactures so entirely, he seems to me to shew, that he does not understand the true interests of SPAIN. As Superintendent of the *Copper*, I suppose he will take some steps towards removing that grievance †. The best thing, in my opinion, to be done with it, is to recal it, and give it to the owners of the *Anti-Gallican Privateer*.

THE Marquis DE ENSENADA, it is to be hoped, will never have influence enough, to be employed as a *Minister* again. He is the most sworn and implacable enemy the British nation hath in SPAIN, both from prejudice and principle. He wears on a *Gala*, or court day, more diamonds, crosses, orders, ribbands, fillets, &c. than any Spanish grandee; so that, like *Sinon* in the *Æneid*, he seems a * victim fled from sacrifice. His fall was chiefly owing to the intrigues of that able and great Minister, the late Sir BENJAMIN KEENE; a circumstance, which, if I can have my wish, shall one day be laid more fully before the public. The *Marquis* was recalled to court, upon the present King's accession, by means of the *Dutchess of Castropiniano*: he is still as ambitious as ever; and if intrigue and gold can make him so, will be a minister again.

THE two *oldest*, as well as the *richest* families in SPAIN, are those of MEDINA CELI, and MEDINA SIDONIA; the former take their title from a town in OLD CASTILE, near the river XALON: they were made *Earls* by HENRY II. of CASTILE, in 1368; *Dukes* by FERDINAND and ISABELLA, in 1491. The old family-name was LA CERDA; it is now CORDOVA. ELI-

† See the Account of the Money, Letter XIV.

* Vittæque Deum, quas *Hestia* gessit.

ZABETH DE LA CERDA, heiress of that family, married MOSES BERNARD, Earl of BEARNE and FOIX. Their estate is suitable to the nobility of their blood, being above 80,000 pounds sterling per annum. They have certainly a good title to the crown of SPAIN, as being of the blood *royal*, and descended from its ancient monarchs. The last Duke of the CERDA line was DON LUIS FRANÇOIS DE LA CERDA, who was Viceroy of NAPLES, from 1692 to 1706, Counsellor of State, and first minister, in 1709, and Governor of the Prince of ASTURIAS: his Dutcheſs had alſo a pension from PHILIP of 4000 piſtoles *per annum*. But, notwithstanding theſe numerous marks of royal favour, this gentleman entered into a conſpiracy againſt PHILIP, and held a correſpondence with the Arch-duke CHARLES. The Marquis of ASTORGA, who was alſo in the plot, diſcovering this on his death-bed, this Duke was arreſted by PHILIP's order, as he was coming to council, conducted firſt to PAMPELUNA, and afterwards to FONTARABIA, where he died.

THE family of MEDINA SIDONIA are ſo called from a town in ANDALUSIA. They were made Dukes in 1445. Their name is GUSMAN EL BUENO; their eſtate is above 60,000 pounds *per annum*; but neither this eſtate nor the former affords to its poſſeſſor any thing like that annual income; for, being both charged with heavy incumbrances, they are, for the moſt part, parcelled out into ſmall mortgages, the rents of which the mortgagee receives, till the ſum due to him is entirely paid. Theſe two dukedoms did, for many years, belong to the ſame family, the GUSMANS; whether they do now or not, I cannot ſay. Though they had great connections with the AUSTRIAN family, yet during the Succeſſion-war, the then Duke of MEDINA SIDONIA adhered inviolably to PHILIP's intereſt, and followed his ſtandard to the laſt.

As the Captain of the LA REYNA, who ſo bravely defended the MORRO Caſtle, at the HAVANAH, when taken by the Engliſh in 1762, has been much talked of lately, it may not be unacceptable to ſay ſomewhat of that family.

THE VELASCO family have been for ages Constables of CASTILE, the highest post anciently in that kingdom, being *Generallissimos* of all its forces; but it is now only a bare title, yet one of great honour and esteem, like the old JUSTICIARY of ARRAGON. They were made Dukes of FRIAS in 1491, and Earls of HARO in 1430, and Earls of CASTEL NUEVO, and Marquisses of VERLANGA. This office of *Constable of Castile* was instituted in 1382, by JOHN I. of CASTILE. This honour is not hereditary in the family of the VELASCOS, though, having descended in it from father to son for many generations, it has very naturally been thought so.

THE Spaniards have in general an olive complexion, are of a middle stature, rather lean, but well made; they have fine eyes, glossy black hair, and a small well shaped head.—Their cloaths are usually of a very dark colour, and their cloaks almost black. This shews the natural gravity of the people. This is the general dress of the common sort; for the court, and persons of fashion, have most of them adopted the French dress and modes.

As their natural air is gravity, so they have consequently great coldness and reserve in their deportment; they are therefore very uncommunicative to all, and particularly to strangers. But when once you are become acquainted with them, and have contracted an intimacy, there are not more social, more friendly, or more conversible beings in the world. When they have once professed it, none are more faithful friends.—They are a people of the highest notions of honour, even to excess, which is a still visible effect of their antient love of *Chivalry*, and was the animating spirit of that enthusiasm. They have great probity and integrity of principle. As they persevere with much fidelity and zeal in their friendships, you will naturally expect to find them warm, relentless, and implacable in their resentments.

THEY are generous, liberal, magnificent, and charitable; religious without dispute, but devout to the greatest excesses of superstition. What else could induce them to kiss the hands of their *Priests*, and the garments of their *Monks*?

IF they have any predominant fault, it is, perhaps, that of being rather *too high minded*; hence they have entertained, at different periods, the most extravagant conceits; such as, that the sun only rose and set in their dominions; that their language was the only tongue fit to address the Almighty with; that they were the peculiar favourites of heaven, insomuch that when the arms of Protestants have prevailed over theirs, they have been ready to call God himself *an Heretic*. They formerly thought, that wisdom, glory, power, riches and dominion, were their sole monopoly; but the experience of two or three centuries past has contributed to shew the fondness of all these delusions. The open and avowed attempts of its AUSTRIAN Princes, grasping at universal monarchy; the secret and more concealed ambition of the BOURBON line, with all their plans of refined policy, have been, as SHAKESPEAR calls it, like the baseless fabric of a vision. It has been owing to these lofty conceits, that they are still possessed with the highest notions of nobility, family and blood. The mountaineer of ASTURIAS, though a peasant, will plume himself as much upon his genealogy and descent, as the first grandee; and the *Castilian*, with his *Coat-armour*, looks upon the *Gallician* with sovereign contempt.

NOTHING can shew the *sang froid* of the Spaniards more strongly than the following circumstance, which, though it hath been often related, is perhaps not known to every reader. In the war that ensued between SPAIN and PORTUGAL, upon the revolution in favour of the Duke of BRAGANZA, the Portuguese plundered the village of *Traigueros*, and left a centinel in it, while the troops passed on.—The centinel, to amuse the time, played on his guitar, which happened to be out of tune. A Spaniard belonging to this plundered village, offended with the dissonance of the soldier's music, came to the centinel, and civilly begg'd him to lend him the guitar; which being done, he tuned it, and returned it to the Portuguese, with this short speech—*Now Sir, it is in tune,—Aora sta templada.*

THE profession of arms is their chief delight; to this darling passion, commerce, manufactures, and agriculture have been al-

ways sacrificed. It never appeared more evident than in the *Succession war*; the peasant voluntarily forsook the plough, and ran to the Austrian or the Bourbon standard. There was no occasion for an haranguing serjeant, or for an officer and a *press-warrant*, to call him to the field of action. *A la guerra, a la guerra*, was all the cry.

It has been imagined; from the events of the present war, that the Spanish are not good troops; but it is a great mistake; there are no soldiers in the whole world that are braver than the *Spanish*. Those who say otherwise only shew their ignorance of history. They have had the Dukes of BERWICK and BITONTO, the Counts DE GAGE and SCHOMBERG, the Prince of HESSE, the Marquis DE LAS MINAS, the Generals STANHOPE, PETERBOROUGH, and STAREMBERGH, the eye-witnesses of their bravery. That they make but an indifferent military figure at present, is no just argument against them; long peace, long disuse, and bad generals, will entirely damp the martial spirit of any people. Let them only be disciplined, and led on by his *Prussian Majesty*, and I will answer for their doing as much execution as any troops in EUROPE, and particularly the cavalry. They bear all hardships with the most unremitting patience, and can endure heat, cold, and even hunger, with some degree of cheerfulness. They have courage and constancy sufficient for the most hazardous undertakings; and though naturally slow, yet when once put in action, pursue their object with great warmth and perseverance.

BIGOTRY has been very prejudicial to the Spaniards, not only in religion, but in the arts and sciences, and has greatly retarded their advancement in learning.—It is impossible that those who are too blindly attached to the opinions of the *Antients*, should make any great figure among the *Moderns*. ARISTOTLE, DUNS SCOTUS, and THOMAS AQUINAS, were a triumvirate more dangerous to the freedom of the mind, than those of ancient ROME, to its liberties. And it had certainly been much more serviceable to our own universities, if, instead of expelling and burning the

works of LOCKE, they had at that time set all ARISTOTLE and PLATO on fire.

THIS bigotry, in favour of the Antients, appears no where more strongly, than in their practice of physick. Thousands have died in SPAIN by following the prescriptions of GALEN and HIPPOCRATES, who might have lived many years, had they had an equal faith in SYDENHAM and BOERHAAVE.

To politics the Spaniards have a natural inclination; they understand and study the political interests of their country very thoroughly; even the most common peasants will sometimes make reflections on public affairs, that would be not unworthy of a senator in the CORTES.

To give an idea of a *Spanish University*, it will be sufficient to describe that of SALAMANCA; the rest being all similar, only inferior.

It consists of 24 professors, who have 1000 ducats each *per annum*. It has a small library, the books of which are all *chained*. There are 12 Divinity Professors, four for the morning, and four for the afternoon. There are other Sub-professors likewise, who have only 500 vellon crowns *per annum*. There is a Professor of the doctrine of DURANDUS, and one for that of SCOTUS. This last seems most requisite, for ERASMUS was nine years in understanding the *Preface* only. Besides the stipendiary Professors, there are others paid by the scholars; Cardinal XIMENES was originally so low, as to have been one of these. There is also the same number of Professors for the Civil and Canon Law, Physick, Philosophy, and Mathematics; as for Divinity, all these are under the direction of an annual President. Next to him, is the *School-master*, who is always a canon of SALAMANCA, and answers to our *Vice-chancellor*. These two officers have 8000 ducats each *per annum*. The revenues of this University are said to be 90,000 ducats *per annum*.—It formerly had 7000 scholars; but that number has been considerably lessened this many an age: however, one of their schools is still large enough to hold 2000

people. The scholars all wear much the same dress as the ecclesiastics, have all the *Tonsure*, and the *Bonnet*, for hats are forbidden. There are in SALAMANCA 24 colleges; but no scholar can remain in them longer than seven years. The Bridge of stone at SALAMANCA, thrown over the river TORMES, is a most noble Roman work.

As to the *Language* of SPAIN, there are two different tongues spoken in it, the *Biscayan*, and the *Romance*, or Spanish. The *Biscayan* was most probably the language of the ancient Spaniards; just as the most ancient *British* tongue is still preserved in our island, in the mountains of WALES, and the *Erse* in those of SCOTLAND. The *Romance* is plainly, from its name, a corruption of the *Latin*; this is now called *Castilian*.—The Spaniards confound the B with the V, and the C with the Q, and so did their masters the Romans; thus, they used BENERI for VENERI, BIXIT for VIXIT, PEQUNIAM for PECUNIAM.—The Spaniards love the D final, so did the Romans; as prædad, altod, marid, for præda, alto, mari. In Spanish this is almost universal; as Verdad, Liberdad, Jubentud, for Veritas, Libertas, Juventus, &c. In many instances the Latin and Spanish agree word for word, and the Castilian often writes the language of the *Bar Empire*, without designing it.—Indeed I am persuaded, that more light might be gathered from the *Spanish* tongue, towards discovering what the *Roman* language was, during the *second Punic war*, than from any other quarter.

THERE is a great similarity between many of the English and Spanish words; in such a case, let others decide which is the lender, and which the borrower. Thus, *Casaca*, a *Cassock*; *Mucho*, *Much*; *Rajas*, *Rags*; *Carpa*, a *Carpe*; *Capa* a *Cape*; *Golfo*, a *Gulph*; *Falta*, *Fault*; *Carga*, *Charge*; a *Ropper*, from *Arropar* to cloath warm; to *vamp*, from *Avampier*, Spatterdashies; *Arcahuz*, *Harquebuss*; *Cordwainers*, from the French *Corduaniers*, because the finest leather at that time came from CORDOVA, or CORDUBA; *Tabard*, a Cloak, from *Tavardo*, which signifies the same; hence comes our mistaken English sign of the *Talbot*, for a *Dog*, when it ought to be, as it was originally, a *Tabard*,

or

or Cloak.—Lord BACON says, that as one instance of the *copia* of the Spanish language, we have no word so expressive, as their *Desenvoltura*, and *Despejar*; though I doubt the truth of that remark. That it delights in long words, the *Ampullas* and *Sesquipedalia verba*, is very certain; *Despavilladeras* is rather too long for so common a word as *Snuffers*. There are many words, such as, *Abandanamiento*, and others, of seven syllables and upwards. As there is something pompous and magnificent in the length of its words, and the sound of them, so there is also a peculiarity in the turn and manner of their phrases and expressions. We say, *the King and Queen*, their expression is, *the Catholic Kings*, *los Reyes Catholicos*, meaning the same thing. His Britannic Majesty signs *George Rex*, the Catholic Monarch, *I the King*. We say, *Long may you live*, they say, *May you live, Sir, a thousand years and more*. They use the *mentiro* very frequently, tho', to give the LIE in English, or the *menterie* in French, would be reckoned an affront. They never use the word *cuerno*, or *cornudo*, without begging pardon first of those they speak to; the *Italians*, I am told, do the same. DON JUAN DE JAUREQUI has translated LUCAN into Spanish verse; though I have taken some pains, I never could procure the book; BREBEUF's French translation of that poet has been always thought *Lucano ipso Lucanius*. What then must be the effect of *Lucan's* rant, who was by birth a *Spaniard*, when heightened with all the pomp, sound, and bombast so natural to the Spanish language? The Spaniards have an infinity of *Proverbs*; some political, such as, *Con todo el mundo guerra, y paz con Yngalaterra*; that is, *War with all the world, and peace with England*. Some of them are very strange, as, *Mas quiero, que se mueran seys Duques, que morirme yo*.---I had rather six Dukes should die, than die myself.—*Un asno coxo, un hombre roco, y el demonio, todo el mismo*.---A lame ass, a red-haired man, and the devil, are all the same thing.

THE military turn of the Spaniards appears in most of their diversions, and even in the very *terms* and language which they use at CARDS: *Hombre* in Spanish signifies a man, from whence comes what we call *Ombre*; the four principal cards are called *Matadores*, or *Murderers*, because they win all others. *Spadillo* is the

the *little sword*, or the ace of *Spades*, as we very properly call it; for *Spada* in Spanish is a *sword*, and they are so painted on their cards. *Basto* is properly the ace of *clubs*, because it signifies a *club*. *Punto* is any point, of the spear suppose. What we call *Manil* is in Spanish *Malillia*; the deuce of the black suits, or the seven of the red. The *Sin prender* was going to war without taking a King for an ally.

FOR those who have curiosity this way, it may not be displeasing to see a specimen of the *three languages* spoken in their *Peninsula*, as the Spaniards call it; of the *Castilian*, the *Biscayan*, and the *Portuguese*.

CASTILIAN.

Padre nuestro, que estas en los cielos: Sanctificado sea tu nombre; venga tu Reino. Sea hecha tu voluntad, así en la tierra, como en el cielo: El pan nuestro de cada día danosle oy. Y perdonanos nuestras ofensas, así como nosotros perdonamos a los que nos offendén. Y no nos metas en tentación, mas libra nos de mal. Amen.

BISCAYAN.

Gure aita cení etan aicena; sanctifica bedi hire icena; ethor bedi hire refuma; eguin bedi hire voron-datéa, ceruan begala turrean ere. Gure egu-neco oguia igue egun. Eta quitta ietza que gure, corrac, nola gus gorduney, quit-tazen bairrarega. Eta ezgaitzala far eraci tentationetan, baina delura gaitzac gaich-totic.

PORTUGUESE.

Padre nosso, que stas nos ceos. Sanctificado seia o seu nome. Ventra a nos o teu Reino. Seia ferta a tua volundade, assi nos cielo, ceos, come na terra. O pao nosso de cada dia da-no to oje nesto dia. Et perdoanos as nos-sas devidas, assi come nos perdoamos a nos nossos devidores. Et nao nos dexes cahir en tentacao, mas li-bra nos de mal.

THE difference of these three tongues is visible to the eye; the first almost *Latin*, word for word; the second barbarous, and the third a sad corruption of Latin and French.

THE Spaniards frequently breakfast as well as sup in bed; their breakfast is usually of *Chocolate*, *Tea* being very seldom drank by them. They drink little wine. Their dinner is generally

rally a *Pochero*, or beef, mutton, veal, pork, and bacon, greens, &c. all boiled together. If it be a richer, or more expensive mixture of meats and delicacies, it is then stiled an *Olla podrida*, or what we call an *Olio*. Temperance in eating and drinking is doubtless one of their virtues; you may see it in their proverbs; *Unas azeitunas, una salada, y ravanillos, son comida de los cavaleros*; that is, *Olives, sallad, and radishes, are food for a gentleman*. They are great devourers of garlick; they seldom change the knife and fork, but eat every thing with the same individual weapon; delicacy, in many instances I could give, not being their character.

THE taste for gallantry and dancing prevails in SPAIN universally; they are the two ruling passions of the country. Jealousy, ever since the accession of the house of BOURBON, has slept in peace. It is observable, that in proportion as manners become more civilized, that furious passion always loses its force. *Dancing* is so much their favourite entertainment, that their gravest matrons never think themselves excluded by age from this diversion. You may see the grandmother, mother, and daughter, all in the same country dance: the English, on the contrary, give dancing to youth, and leave cards to age. The two most favourite and universal Spanish dances are the *Sequedillas* and the *Fundungo*: the first is something like our HAY; the second is a very ancient dance, and though originally *Roman*, yet the Spaniards have mixed somewhat of the *Moorish* along with it: they are excessively fond of it; it is danced by the first of the nobility, as well as by the common people. I shall not attempt a description of it, as I am sure your English ladies of fashion would not send to MADRID for a FUNDUNGO-master, to teach it their daughters; nor indeed could I describe it altogether decently: let it suffice to say, that it is exactly the same with the *Pantomime dance of Leda* among the *Romans*.

MOST of the Spaniards take their *siesta*, or sleep after dinner; *mass* in the morning, dinner at noon, and the evening's airing generally finish the round of their day. Though it is the *etiquette* of the country for the men and women to wear in the street,

and

and at mafs, all the fame dress, yet the ladies in private visits wear as much variety of dress, and of a much richer sort, than those in ENGLAND; but to a people of gallantry, the advantage of all wearing the same uniform in public, is easy to be conceived. The married ladies in SPAIN have each their professed lover, just as the Italian ladies have their *cicisbeo*. Their evening's airing is insipid to the last degree; you see nothing but a string of coaches following one another, filled with people of fashion: Here a Duke and his confessor; there a couple of smart young Abbess *tête à tête*; here a whole family grouped together, just like a Dutch picture, husband and wife, children and servants, wet nurses and dry altogether.—When they take their airing on *gala*, or court days, all their footmen are then dressed in laced liveries, with plumes of feathers in their hats.—The number of servants kept by the *Grandees*, and people of the first fashion, is immoderate; they have often put me in mind of those words of TACITUS—*familiarum numerum, et nationes*; for the *legionary servants* at ROME began at last to be almost an equal burthen with the *legionary troops*. Some of the Spanish *grandees* retain to the number of 3 or 400 domesticks; the English Ambassador here, in compliance with the taste of the country, keeps near 100. As they go with *four* mules usually, they have consequently *two* drivers, or postilions; generally *four*, and sometimes *six* footmen behind their coaches, besides an helper to take off a pair of mules, when they enter MADRID, as they are not permitted to drive with more than *four* there. In the hot weather they take out the sides and backs of their coaches, for the sake of the air. They use *sedan* chairs but very little, and when they do, they have always *two* footmen, who go on each side the hindmost chairman, in order to hold them up, lest they should fall; and *two* of each side the sedan, and *two* who follow behind with *lanthorns*, though it be in the middle of the day: That is to say, they have generally *nine* servants with a coach, and *ten* with a sedan, besides those who go before.—

THE TOWN of MADRID, for as it is not an *Episcopal see*, I think we cannot call it a *city*, is built on some little hills in the neighbourhood of a very indifferent stream called the MANSA-
NARES;

NARES; which occasioned much wit, when PHILIP II. built that great bridge over it, called the PUENTE DE SEGOVIA: Some said *the King should sell the bridge to buy a river, &c.*

CHARLES V. having recovered here of a quartan ague, first made this a royal residence; but how injudiciously, needs not to be remarked. The *capital* of so great and extended a kingdom, ought doubtless to be at SEVILLE; where, by means of the port, all the conveniencies and necessities of life, and every article of foreign commerce might be had with ease. But the expence of removing the tribunals and the King's palaces, will probably now prevent any design of making that city a new capital.

MADRID is surrounded with very lofty mountains, whose summits are always covered with *snow*. It has no fortifications to defend it; it has no ditch, but is environed by a *mud wall*. Its gates, according to the taste of that country, have their *locks* upon the outside. There are very few good streets, except those of the *Calle Mayor*, the *Calle d'Atocha*, the *Calle Alcala*, and the *Calle Ancha*: The rest are long, narrow, and extremely dirty. The only good square is the *Plaza Mayor*, which is large and regular enough; but there being *balconies* to every window, it takes off much of its beauty.

THE houses in MADRID are most of them brick, with dry walls, *lime* being there very dear and scarce; *stone* is still more expensive, because it must be brought from six or seven leagues distance. House rent is at an exorbitant price; but that is not all, furniture is scarce to be had, without paying extravagantly for it; and if you would have *glass windows* to your house, you must put them there yourself, for you will not find them.—The houses in general are wretchedly ill-built, for you will seldom see any two walls upon the square: They are laid out chiefly for show, convenience being little considered: Thus you will pass through usually two or three large apartments of no use, in order to come at a small room at the end, where the family sit. This is the general state of the houses there; not but there are some very magnificent palaces, built chiefly by *Viceroy*s, returned
Y y from

from their governments, and by the principal *Grandees*: These have courts, and *portes cochers*, though the others have not. The house which the late Sir BENJAMIN KEENE lived in, near the convent of the MARAVILLAS, was of this sort; large, magnificent, and expensive: It was built by one of the descendants of the famous CORTES; though it had been half burnt down, it would contain two or three hundred people with ease: The Earl of BRISTOL hired it on his predecessor's death; and it is since taken by the Prince CATHOLICO. The houses in general look more like prisons, than the habitations of people at their liberty; the windows, besides having a balcony, being *grated* with iron bars, particularly the lower range, and sometimes all the rest. A single family is not the sole tenant of an house, as is usually the case in ENGLAND; they are generally inhabited by many separate families, who notwithstanding are for the most part perfect strangers to each other. Those who can afford it, have a distinct apartment for summer and winter. Foreigners are very much distressed for lodgings in MADRID; there being only one tolerable *inn*, the FONTANA D'ORO; and the Spaniards are not fond of taking any strangers into their houses, especially if they are not *Catholics*. There is no such thing as a *tavern* or *coffee-house* in the town; they have only one *news paper*, which is the MADRID GAZETTE: Their places of diversion are the *amphitheatre*, built for the exhibition of the *Bull Feast*, and the two theatres of LA CRUZ, and DEL PRINCIPE. The noise made by the itinerant bodies of psalm-singers in the streets, or the ROSARIO's, as they call them, is very disagreeable in the evening; the frequent processions, particularly those of the Host, troublesome; at Easter especially, when the sight of those bloody disciplinants, the *Flagellantes*, is extremely shocking.

NEXT to the King's palaces, one of the best buildings that I can recollect in MADRID, is the *Imperial College of Jesuits*, which is indeed a very noble structure. There is no passing the streets there commodiously without a vehicle; for as they practice the *Scotch*, or EDINBURGH *custom*, of manuring the streets by night, they would be too offensive to your feet, as well as your nose, without a chariot by day. Upon the site of the *old palace*, where

FRANCIS

FRANCIS I. was kept prisoner, built by CHARLES V. but destroyed, is now erected what they call the *New Palace*, on the south side of the town. The *Casa del Campo* was built I believe, by PHILIP III. as an asylum for his mistresses.—The *Buen Retiro* was built by the Conde Duke D'OLIVARES, in PHILIP IV's. time.—Some of the *Convents* are fine, particularly that of *Atoche*, or our *Lady of the Bush*: In the church belonging to it, they sing their *Te Deum* upon victories and other public occasions. The convent of the *Salesas* is likewise a new and noble structure. There is an order of *Canonesses* in MADRID, which they call *Ladies of St. James*. The *Monasteries* and *Nunneries* in all SPAIN, were computed by one of their writers in 1623, at 2,141, and the number of religious of either sex, shut up in them, at 44,915, which is doubtless a very moderate calculation.

L E T T E R XX.

JOURNEY from MADRID to LISBON,
December the 17th, 1762.

AS his Catholic Majesty did not think proper to give *the Earl of Bristol* any answer, in relation to the question put to him by the *Court* of GREAT BRITAIN, we, who all held ourselves in readiness for an abrupt departure, made the necessary dispositions for an immediate return to ENGLAND: accordingly the requisite *Passports* being obtained, STANIER PORTEN, Esq; *the English Consul-general at MADRID*, led the way, and set out, on the 16th of December, on his route for PORTUGAL. We should have been obliged to return that way, because the war prevented our going through FRANCE, and the road to CORUNNA being not practicable for a coach, unless we had made a very wide detour, and taken the road to SAN JAGO DE COMPOSTELLA.—But his Britannic Majesty fixed that route, by ordering that a ship (*the Portland Man of War*, the worthy Captain RICHARD HUGHES Commander) should sail directly for LISBON, and bring home the English Ambassador, and his retinue.—The *Consul* having gone the day before, in order to prepare the way for the *Ambassador*, procure him the best accommodations, and to give notice of his coming: His Excellency set out on the 17th of December, without taking leave of the Court of SPAIN.

As

As the whole nation were averſe to a war with ENGLAND, the Spaniards beheld the AMBASSADOR'S departure with the utmoſt regret; it being their opinion, as well as the conſtant maxim of PATINHO, *Con todo el mundo guerra, y paz con Ynglaterra, War with all the world, but peace with England.* Some ſaid, *Es por nueſtros peccaos*; and others, *Es uno golpe politico*; that is, *It is for our ſins*; and, *It is a political ſtroke*; that is to ſay, the court's doing, not a national war.

THOUGH the Ambaſſador returned, without having taken leave of the *Court*, yet he received, on his departure, all the honours and civilities which were due to his rank and character. General WALL ſent orders to all the Governors, and Commandants of every city or town the Ambaſſador was to paſs through, that they ſhould ſhew him all the accuſtomed honours and reſpects due to the Ambaſſador of GREAT BRITAIN.—Accordingly, at every place, the Governor waited on his *Excellency*, at his arrival, with a polite Spaniſh compliment; the ſoldiers were drawn up under arms, the drums beating, colours flying, and the canon on the ramparts fired at his departure.

WE were to travel *ſixty-three* leagues before we could get out of SPAIN, and paſs the GUADIANA at BADAJOS, which is the laſt frontier city towards PORTUGAL; and then we had *twenty-nine* leagues remaining to ALDEA GALLEGA, a little village on the ſouth ſide of the TAGUS, where we were to paſs that river to come at LISBON. This will appear much clearer from the following route.

ROUTE from MADRID to LISBON.

		Leagues.
First Day,	NABAL CARNERO,	5
Second Day,	CASA RUBIOS,	2
—————	NOBES,	4
Third Day,	STA. OLAYA,	2
—————	TALAVERA DE LA REYNA,	7
		—
	Carried over,	20
		Brought

		Leagues.
	Brought over,	20
Fourth Day,	LA CALZADA,	6
Fifth Day,	NABAL MORAL,	4
—————	ALMARAS,	3
Sixth Day,	JARAYSEJO,	4
—————	TRUXILLO,	4
Seventh Day,	LA CRUZ DEL PUERTO,	3
—————	MIAJADAS,	3
Eighth Day,	SAN PEDRO,	5
—————	MERIDA,	2
Ninth Day,	LOBON,	4
—————	TALAVERUELA,	3
—————	BADAJOS,	2
	So far in SPAIN.	63
Tenth Day,	ELVAS,	3
Eleventh Day,	ESTREMOS,	6
Twelfth Day,	VENTA DEL DUQUE,	3
—————	ARROYOLOS,	3
Thirteenth Day,	MOSTREMOS,	3
—————	VENTAS NUEVAS,	4
Fourteenth Day,	ALDEA GALLEGA,	7
	These last in PORTUGAL,	29
	Total,	92

WE were to pass two thirds of this way in an enemy's country, and the remainder in a dreary, barren, rocky soil, somewhat, indeed, more fertile than SPAIN, but very little better in its accommodations. Besides this, the season of the year, which is ever unfavourable to travellers, was most particularly so to us at this juncture, as it rained almost that whole fortnight without intermission; inasmuch, that some of the rivers were so increased,

as to prevent a passage ; which happened to those who conducted the baggage-waggons, which were retarded some days by the floods.—Add to this, the rigour of the season, and the cold, the stormy winds to be naturally expected in that part of the year ; and, at those seasons, the restless tossing of the Bay of BISCAY. All which circumstances frequently put me in mind of those remarkable words of Scripture, *And pray that your flight be not in the winter.*

THE first place worth your notice in this route, is the town of TALAVERA DE LA REYNA, in the kingdom of NEW CASTILE, on the banks of the TAGUS. It is the greatest manufacture of silver and gold filks, perhaps in the whole country. The late King FERDINAND protected and encouraged it much ; but it is now sinking, as most of the rest of their manufactures are, under the uncommercial aspect of the minister SQUILACCI. There is likewise a curious manufacture of earthen ware. Its ancient name was TALABRIGA. It was called DE LA REYNA, because it belonged to Queen MARY, wife of ALONZO XII.

THERE is one hill, of a long, winding, and difficult ascent, before you come to JARAYSEJO ; it is dangerous in some parts ; it employed us almost a whole morning to surmount it ; and one baggage-waggon fell down some part of the precipice, but was got up again entire. There is likewise a very dangerous pass of a mountain, about two leagues before you come to TRUXILLO : Your coach must here be drawn up by oxen, and supported by men, otherwise it is impossible to get it over the mountain.—TRUXILLO is a city in the province of ESTREMADURA, standing on a hill, on the top whereof is a *castle*, the country about it fruitful.—It was founded by JULIUS CÆSAR, and after him called TURRIS JULIA, hence corruptly TRUXILLO.

THE next place of note is MERIDA, the capital city of the province of ESTREMADURA, built on the banks of the GUADIANA, over which there is a most noble bridge, the work of that great Emperor, as well as Builder, TRAJAN. There are here still to be seen many fine remains of *Roman antiquity* : In the market-

market-place is a large column, built entirely of *inscription* and *sepulchral* stones, crowned on the top with an antique statue; the *Walls* for the most part *Roman*; there are some remains of an *Amphitheatre*, *Aqueduct*, *Circus*, &c. all *Roman*. It was built by *AUGUSTUS*, given by him to veteran troops, and called *EMERITA AUGUSTA*, whence corruptly *MÉRIDA*.

FOUR leagues farther, on the banks of the same river, stands *LOBON*, where there is a *Castle*. It was antiently called *Lychon*, in Greek, signifying a wolf, which its present Spanish name does likewise.

THE last city in *ESTREMADURA*, on the frontiers of *PORTUGAL*, is *BADAJOS*, well fortified, has a fine bridge, a castle, and was anciently called *PAX AUGUSTA*; whence its present name.—Here we took our last *adieu* of *SPAIN*; and were not a little pleased to find ourselves on *Portuguese* ground the next morning, at *ELVAS*; where the Ambassador stayed all day, though it was only *three* leagues to it, in order to forward a messenger to *ENGLAND*, and send his dispatches to the Honourable Mr. *HAY*, his Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at the court of *LISBON*.—*ELVAS* is a city in the province of *ALENTEJO* in *PORTUGAL*. Being the frontier to *SPAIN*, it is the best fortified place the *Portuguese* have: It is also a *Bishopric*. There is a good *cathedral*, with a most elegant chapter-room. The Dean, who was a very polite ecclesiastic, was so obliging as to shew it us himself.

SIX leagues farther, you come to *ESTREMOS*, another fortified place, about two leagues from *VILLA-VIZOSA*; there is a castle on the hill.—The situation is beautiful, and the town has a clean, neat, pleasing appearance; it is remarkable for a fine manufactory of *earthen ware*.—It is most memorable for a victory obtained by the *Portuguese*, under the command of Count *SCHOMBERG*, in 1663, over the *Castilians*, whose general was Don *JOHN* of *AUSTRIA*, in their last invasion of that kingdom.—They found in that Prince's casket, after the battle, very complete lists of the Spanish army, artillery; and offensive munitions
of

of war.—The court of LISBON, diverted at this incident, bad their Secretary of State write at the bottom of one of these lists, *We certify, that the above list is very exact, having found it after the defeat of Don JOHN of AUSTRIA, near Estremoz, 8th June 1663.*—The distance of time between their last and the present invasion being only one year short of a century.

THE next place of note is ARROYOLOS, standing on an eminence, with a good *fort* to it; it gives the title of Earl to the family of CASTRO.

THE 31st of December we arrived at ALDEA GALLEGA. Here our dispersed parties united again with the greatest joy, having the beautiful prospect of that fine river the TAGUS before us, which is no less than twelve miles broad at that place, and which we were to pass at six o'clock the next morning, because of the tide. And here we were glad to rest from all our fatigues; some of us having suffered very much from the length and labour of the journey.

WE arrived at LISBON about eight o'clock the next morning; where the Honourable Mr. HAY received the Ambaffador, and his retinue, and conducted them to his own house.

THE city of LISBON, built, like old ROME, on several little hills, is one of the finest views from the water, that can possibly be imagined; as you approach nearer to it, the tragical effects, the havock of that dreadful earthquake, cannot but touch every beholder with sentiments of pain. After landing, we passed through some streets, near a mile in length, where the houses were all fallen on each side, and lay in that undistinguished heap of ruin, into which they sunk at the first convulsive shocks. Not that the reader is to imagine, that the greatest part of that fine city fell on that fatal morning; so far from it, that I believe not above *one fourth part* of it was destroyed: for it prevailed more in one particular quarter, than the rest; and there the desolation was almost universal, scarce an house or building that was not thrown down. In the other parts of the city, some single ill-conditioned,

conditioned, or ruinous buildings fell, but the rest stood.—And there is scarce a street but you will see shores and props fixed to the buildings on each side, to prevent their falling even now; they having suffered so much from the shocks they had received.—Considering how much time has elapsed since the earthquake, very little has been rebuilt in proportion.—They have built a Custom-house, an Arsenal, a Theatre, and some few other buildings. All agree, that the fire occasioned infinitely more havoc than the earthquake. Thousands of the inhabitants, unhappily, in the first confusion of their fear, taking the ill judged step of thronging into the churches; the doors of which being sometimes shut by the violence of the crowd, and sometimes locked by mistake, when the fire seized the roofs of those buildings, these unhappy sufferers were most of them destroyed; some by sheets of lead, that poured like a molten deluge upon their heads; others mashed by the fall of the roofs, and the rest burnt alive. One's imagination can scarce form a scene of confusion, horror, and death, more dreadful than this.—After the shocks were over, the fire continued burning for many weeks; and it is thought, was one principal cause of their escaping the plague, as the putrefaction of the bodies was by that means much less.—The calculation of the number that perished, as they kept no registers, must be in great measure *conjectural*; but that thousands and ten thousands were destroyed, there is no doubt. The morning on which it happened was most remarkably serene and pleasant, particularly about 10 o'clock, and in one quarter more, all was involved in this dreadful scene of terror and destruction.—As this event produced many changes, those among the commercial parts of the city were not the least remarkable. One, who yesterday was at the eve of a bankruptcy, found himself to-day with *his books cleared*; and hundreds, who lived in ease and affluence, as soon as they had recovered from their first panic and dismay, saw want and poverty stare them in the face.

THE calamities of PORTUGAL in general, and those of the city of LISBON in particular, within the space of so few years, cannot, I think, be paralleled in all history.—An earthquake, a fire, a famine, an assassination-plot against their Prince, executions

executions upon executions, the scaffolds and wheels for torture reeking with the noblest blood; imprisonment after imprisonment, of the greatest and most distinguished personages; the expulsion of a chief order of ecclesiastics, the invasion of their kingdom by a powerful, stronger, and exasperated nation; the numerous troops of the enemy laying waste their territory, bringing fire and sword with them, and rolling, like distant thunder, towards the gates of their capital; their Prince ready almost to save himself by flight.—The Spanish ministry had already decreed the doom of PORTUGAL, and nothing was to be heard at the *Escurial*, but “*Delenda est Carthago.*” Carthaginian, perhaps, or Jewish story, may possibly afford a scene something like this, but, for the shortness of the period, not so big with events, though in their final destruction superior. From that, indeed, under the hand of providence, the national humanity and generosity of GREAT BRITAIN has preserved the Portuguese: And it remains now to be seen, in future treaties, how that people will express their gratitude.

THOSE who are able to search deeper into human affairs, may assign the causes of such a wonderful chain of events: for my own part, I cannot ascribe all this to so *singular a cause* as that which a *Spaniard* hath done, in a famous pamphlet, printed lately at MADRID, and which the *Baron de Wassenauer* sent me this summer. It is entitled *a Spanish prophecy*, and endeavours to shew, that all these calamities have befallen the *Portuguese*, solely because of their connection with the *heretic English*. The great Ruler and Governor of the World undoubtedly acts by universal laws, regarding the whole system, and cannot, without blasphemy, be considered in the light of a *Partizan*. The rest of the pamphlet tends to shew, that his Catholic Majesty carried his arms into PORTUGAL, solely to give them liberty, and set them free from English tyranny.

SOME of the Churches, the Arsenal, the Theatre, and above all, the Aqueduct at LISBON, deserve the attention of every traveller; the center arch, for its height, being one of the noblest, perhaps, in EUROPE. One thing is remarkable, that during the earthquake this building stood the attack, though it received so
much

much shock, as that many of the key-stones fell several inches, and hang now only because a small part of the base of the key-stone was caught by the center's closing again.

THE Theatre is an elegant building, and judiciously disposed; their actors excel in the mute Pantomime; they played the *Maestro di Schola* incomparably well; the scenes had sentiment, character, connection with one another, and carried on the general design. Though the scenery and machines of our theatres are admirable, yet our Pantomime farces seem to have little or no meaning. Nor do I much wonder at it; Mr. GARRICK, who is certainly the greatest actor that ever trod the stage, must be too warm an admirer of Shakespeare and Nature, to have any relish for these extravagancies, and therefore cannot stoop to give much of his attention to them.

THE streets of LISBON are cleaner than those of MADRID, but disagreeable, from the continual ascents and descents you are obliged to make. Most of the houses have the *Jalousie*, or lattice. The women, though more beautiful, are not so much seen in public as the *Spanish*, and their head-dress is much prettier. There are few fires in chimneys in the rooms at LISBON; the want of them is supplied by wearing a *cloak* constantly in the house, or perhaps by a brazier; though the cold is sometimes very piercing.

THE view of the TAGUS, from those windows of the town which command it, is remarkably pleasing: The *Bean-cods*, or small boats, which sail with any wind or tide, and are continually passing; the river crowded with shipping of all nations; the coming in of a *Babia* or *Brazil* fleet; the opening of the river towards the bar, with the castle of *Bellem* on the right, the King's palace, and the castle of *St. Julian's* on the left; all together form a fine and agreeable view. The passage of the bar is sometimes very dangerous, either in coming in or going out of the river, by the bank of sand which is thrown up by the winds and sea. We past it, however, with no difficulty, on the 19th of January, landed at FALMOUTH on the 28th, and arrived in LONDON the 5th of February, 1762.

M. Maby
A
JOURNAL
FROM
GRAND CAIRO to MOUNT SINAI
AND BACK AGAIN.

Translated from a MANUSCRIPT,
Written by the Prefetto of *Egypt* in company with
the Missionaries *de propaganda fide* at *Grand Cairo*.

To which are added
Some REMARKS
ON THE
ORIGIN OF HIEROGLYPHICS
AND THE
MYTHOLOGY of the ancient Heathens.

By the Right Reverend
ROBERT Lord Bishop of CLOGHER.

Dedicated to
The Society of ANTIQUARIES, London.

LONDON,
Printed by and for WILLIAM BOWYER. MDCCCLIII.

T O T H E

Society of Antiquaries,

L O N D O N.

GENTLEMEN,

BEING possessed of the original Journal from *Grand Cairo* to *Mount Sinai*, mentioned by my worthy friend [a] Dr. Pococke in his Travels through the East; which was written by the Prefetto of *Egypt*, who set out from the Convent *de propaganda fide* at *Grand Cairo*, A. D. 1722, I think proper to communicate to you a translation of it; in hopes of exciting you, who are now erected into a Society of Antiquaries, to make some enquiry into those ancient characters, which, as we learn from it, are discovered in great numbers in the Wilderness of *Sinai* at a place well known by the name of *Gebel el Mokatab*, or the *Written mountains*, which are so particularly described in this Journal, that it is impossible for an inquisitive traveller to be at a loss in his searches after them. By carefully copying a good quantity of these letters, I should apprehend that the ancient Hebrew character, which is now lost, may be recovered.

[a] Pococke's Trav. Vol i. p. 147.

I do not suppose such a copy of them, as would be sufficient for the end proposed, could be taken by any traveller in the time ordinarily allowed for a journey between *Cairo* and *Mount Sinai*; but I imagine, if a person was sent on purpose to live for some time at *Tor* on the coast of the *Red-Sea*, he might make such an acquaintance with the Arabs living near the *Written mountains*, by the civility of his behaviour, and by frequently making them small presents, that it would be no great difficulty in six months, or thereabouts, to attain the desired end.

As this will require a good capacity and industry in the person employed, and likewise must be attended with some expence; I do not know whom to apply to more properly than to your honourable Society to look out for a suitable person to be employed on this errand. As to the expence, I am willing to bear any proportion of it which you shall think proper, in order to have this design thoroughly effected.

A N E X A C T
J O U R N A L
F R O M
C A I R O to M O U N T S I N A I,

Begun the First of *September*, 1722.

Sept. 1. **A**LL our companions having assembled at my house, viz. Choga Abraham Mossaad, Jacob Uhabez Abdelaziz, merchants; also Monsr. Beraoue, the son of a French merchant, and three brothers, James of *Bobemia*, missionary *de propaganda fide*, Elias of *Aleppo*, of the Society of Jesus, and Charles, of the Franciscan order, superior of the Capuchins; about three o' clock in the afternoon, after a brotherly embrace, and having taken leave of all the rest of my domestics and friends, we went to the convent of the monks of *Mount Sinai* that dwell here at *Cairo*; immediately going from whence, we arrived at the famous gate called *Babel Naaser* [*a*]; where we made some stay to take an accurate view of that ancient and magnificent piece of building. And in the mean time the whole caravan being assembled we departed under the conduct of one of the Surbassi, and being accompanied by several orientals who were friends to the Cairo merchants, we directed our course due East, among those ruins and ancient monuments which remain of [*b*] *the city of the Sun*, as is most probable, which are now every where interspersed with Turkish

[*a*] Or *Baab el Naasar*. See Oct. 16.

[*b*] Alias *Heliopolis*.

sepulchres. And after a journey of a good half hour from the gate of the city, we arrived at a place called [c] *Ukalt Elbakaar*, to which the aforementioned buildings, towers, or other ruins, extend ; which time has for the most part consumed. In this place the monks of *Mount Sinai* have an ancient house, formerly sufficiently large and famous, and built of cut stone ; but unless it be soon repaired by the forementioned monks, it will add to the number of its neighbouring ruins. Here we staid all night with our camels, and other beasts, being tolerably well accommodated ; and only incommoded by the noisy sonnets of our Eastern friends, who, according to the custom of the country, designed these their unharmonious vociferations as a compliment.

Sept. 2. AT break of day we all arose, and having loaded our fifty camels (for of that number our caravan consisted) we took leave of our Cairo friends, and about five in the morning departed from this place, some on horses, some on camels, and some on dromedaries ; but I for curiosity, as well as conveniency sake, made myself be carried after the manner of the Turks in a Mohie, but sitting after our own fashion ; two of which seats are fixed on a camel hanging down on either side, carrying two persons ; which kind of carriage, when persons are accustomed to it, is convenient enough. But Mr. Beraoue unfortunately chose a fine horse, which as he was not able to manage, would have broke his neck, if he had not soon dismounted, and changed it for a camel.

AND pursuing our journey after a good hour we passed through a place called by the inhabitants *Sibel alem*, the part of which that remains to the right hand of the road, is very agreeable, consisting of a tower or mosch surrounded with trees, which afforded a pleasant prospect, with ripe dates hanging down from them.

[c] Or *Ukalt el Bahaar*. See Oct. 15:

AFTER

AFTER three quarters of an hour we passed by another place called *Matharca*, which lay on the left hand of the road, and is very pleasantly situated in the midst of trees; and in this place the learned for the most part agree formerly stood the [d] *city of the Sun*. Of whose antiquities there is nothing now remaining but one obelisk, which is sixty six feet high, and has each side, which is seven feet eight inches broad, engraved all over with hieroglyphical characters, and stands about half an Italian mile beyond the village. This obelisk stands upright, but there is another near it, of the same magnitude, which lies upon the ground.

CONTINUING our rout for an hour and a quarter we passed by another village called *El Marge*, which lies on the right hand of the road, and like those before mentioned, was surrounded with palm trees. And after another hour, that is, about nine o' clock, we came to a place called *Chanke*, where having pitched our tents, we refreshed ourselves, after having suffered much from the burning heat of the sun. Here the inhabitants of the place, who are called *Bedwins*, live in tents after the manner of the Arabians. It was piteous to behold the poverty of those habitations under a poor tent, I might indeed say under a black piece of coarse canvas, subdivided into three apartments; in the most retired part of which the women have their habitation; in the middle some of the men and women live promiscuously; and in the outermost are kept all the beasts and cattle of the field, the cocks and hens, and goats. Which seemed to me to be a lively representation of the manner of habitation practised by the ancient patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, etc.

Sept. 3. AFTER three o' clock in the afternoon we departed from this place, and after an hour's journey we lost sight of that chain of [e] mountains, which we saw towards the south, at a

[d] Quære how does this agree with what he said in his last day's journey?

[e] Possibly it was somewhere hereabouts that Moses *turned* to go and encamp

great distance from us. And a little after we saw towards the north several hills of sand, appearing not unlike our hills in *Italy* when covered with snow, and which continued in view for three hours, but at length when it was late in the evening we lost sight of these also ; but, as I am told, they reach all the way to *Damiata*. Here then we rested ourselves at about a quarter after eight, remaining all night in the open air ; not far from another caravan, which was more numerous than ours, and had stopped in this very place, though it had set out before us.

Sept. 4. EARLY in the morning about half an hour after four we departed from hence, directing our journey always either due east, or east-north-east, through a number of little hills that were interspersed here and there ; till we stopped about half an hour after ten, in an agreeable spot of ground, adorned with a beautiful verdure, where when we had dined we departed from thence about one in the afternoon. And about five came to a parcel of ragged mountains called *Hubebi*, situated towards the south, and after we had continued our rout for three hours we rested about eight o' clock.

Sept. 5. HAVING risen at midnight along with the moon, we departed from this place about half an hour after one ; and making our way over hills, as the day appeared, we perceived we were got over the mountains, and were upon the descent, which declined very gently and gradually. At three quarters after seven we passed by *Hagirut*, on the left-hand of which are two places where there is water that is barely tolerable for men to drink, but full good enough for the camels. The Arabs often take possession of these places in the time of war.

SOON after we had passed by this place, still continuing on the descent, we discovered the *Red-sea*, and some ships in port, before *Etham*, when according to the observation of Pharaoh he seemed to be *intangled in the land* ; or in that ridge of mountains which lay towards the south. See *Exod.* xiii. 20. xiv. 2, 3. and *Shaw's Trav.* p. 345.

two of which were then actually departing towards *Gidda* ; and having passed by much such another place as *Hagirut* called *Bir-el Suefs*, where there is good water for camels, we came at length safe and found about three quarters after ten in the morning to Suez. Where, having left the gate of the city upon our right-hand, we pitched our tents on the outside of the walls on the sea shore, with the city to the south of us, and the sea to the north-east ; and remained under our tents during the heat of the day.

THE city of *Suefs* is small and insignificant, and its walls half in ruins, with three small turrets or moschs, situated in 29 degrees 50 minutes of north latitude, at the extremity of the Red-sea, having the sea to the east, and the port to the south, which is surrounded on the east side by an island, and in which there were then ten ships that were preparing to set sail by the first opportunity, but whose companies at present composed the greatest part of the inhabitants of that city. And when they are gone, then the remainder of the inhabitants return towards *Cairo*, and leave only one or two persons behind to guard the place ; and all this on account of the great scarcity of water and victuals, for nothing will grow thereabouts ; and there is no water nearer than six or seven hours journey towards the north-east ; to bring which the camels set out about four o' clock in the afternoon, and having arrived about midnight, as soon as they have filled their vessels, they return, and generally arrive again at *Suefs* about eight o' clock in the morning, selling one small vessel of water for three or four *medinas* [*f*], and the larger vessels for eight or ten *medinas*, according to the demand made for it.

NOT far from our tents there was a little hill, or rather a gentle rising ground ; where were the ruins of some ancient buildings, which they say are the remains of some famous city. There are also on this hill two cannon which lie on the ground, and

[*f*] A *medina* is 1 *d.* $\frac{1}{5}$ English money.

which

which upon viewing narrowly I perceived were cast by the Turks, because upon the lesser of them were Arabic characters wherein the year was mentioned when they were made, which, upon computation, I found to be about one hundred and ninety-seven years ago. The less was ten feet long, and its bore about seven inches and three quarters French measure wide; the larger, of a more ordinary kind of workmanship, was near twice as long, being nineteen feet long, and its bore seven inches and a half wide. There were also several other cannons lying in the city made of brass, but cast with more skill than those before mentioned.

Sept. 6. WE set out from this place early in the morning, and to avoid going a great way about, round the northern point of this arm of the *Red-sea*, we went by boat from this part of *Africa* to that part of *Asia*, which lies directly over against it, at the distance of one quarter of an Italian mile; and while we were in our passage, we actually met some ships going to *Suez* to purchase the water, which, as I mentioned before, was brought thither to be sold on camels backs from the mountains.

AND NOW having passed the *Red-sea*, the heat of the sun being excessively great, we again loaded our camels, and departed from our landing place about eleven o' clock, and after a journey of three hours to the east-south-east, leaving some [*f*] mountains at a great distance towards our left-hand, and having the *Red-sea* on our right, we rested about two o' clock near certain fountains called *Ain el musa*, or the fountains of Moses, situated among little hills, which I went to, and found the water tolerably good, but with a little saltiness; and no sooner does it rise out of the bowels of the earth, but it is lost again in the sand, or, as I may say, is in the day time instantly absorbed by the burning and thirsty sand, but at night it seems to flow further than it

[*f*] The mountains and castle of *Sedur* or *Shur*. See *Gen. xv. 18.* and *Po-cock's Trav.* p. 139.

does

does by day, as may be seen by the traces it leaves behind. But I believe, if the place was cleansed (for it is very full of dirt and mud) the water would be sweeter, and that there would be a larger current; for there are three springs which run not far from each other, into which the Arabs permit the camels to enter when they drink.

FROM these fountains may be plainly seen a wonderful [g] aperture in the mountains on the other side of the *Red-sea*, thro' and from which the children of Israel entered into the *Red-sea*, when Pharoah and his host were drowned. Which aperture is situated from these fountains of Moses west-south-west, and the breadth of the sea hereabouts, where the children of Israel passed it, is about four or five hours journey. But from *Suefs* by land to these fountains would be seven or eight hours journey.

THE place where we then were is called *Sedur*, where we rested ourselves till sun-set. At last, about a quarter after six we set forward on our journey, going in the dark through the desert of *Sedur*, wandering here and there out of our road; till we stopped about midnight to take a little rest upon a small hill of sand, where they say there are abundance of serpents, but, thanks to God, we received no harm.

Sept. 7. ABOUT three quarters after six in the morning we again began our travels, journeying through the desert of *Vardan* [b], still moving more and more from the *Red-sea*. In this desert we stopped to refresh ourselves, about three quarters after ten, at about three leagues distance from the *Red-sea*. And after dinner (here I was very much out of order) we again set forward about three quarters after three o' clock, travelling thro'

[g] Called by Moses *Piba-hiroth*, or the *mouth*, or *opening* of *Hiroth*, *Exod* xiv. 2. and by the Greeks *Clyfma*. *Philost.* lib. iii. cap. 6.

[b] Or *Ouardan*. Pocock's *Trav.* p. 139.

the plains in excessive hot weather, till eight at night, when we rested.

Sept. 8. FROM this place we departed about three o' clock in the morning, making our way over several hills and vales, which brought us towards the mountain *Gebel Hamam el [i] Faran*. And about seven o' clock we found several trees, and some verdant spots of earth in the midst of the barren sand. And there came from the mountains a most delightful breeze, which sensibly refreshed my bowels; so that I was surprizingly restored to my health.

AT length we entered into an exceeding pleasant and agreeable wood at the foot of the aforesaid mountain of *Hamam el Faran*, and rested ourselves at three quarters after eight in a place called *Garundu*; which is a small, but most delightful valley, full of certain trees with which it is beautified, and which emit a most agreeable odour, not unlike the smell of the balsam of *Peru*. There are also in this place many palm trees, and in the bottom of the vale is a rivulet that comes from the aforementioned mountain, the water of which is tolerably good, and in sufficient plenty, but is however not free from being somewhat bitter, tho' it is very clear. After it has run through this valley for some hours towards the west, it then empties itself into the *Red-sea*. Many think this to be the place mentioned *Exod. xv. 23.* where it is said of the Israelites, that *when they came to Marah, they*

[i] In this journal of Oct. 8. these mountains are described under the character of the mountains of *Hamam el Pharaone*, or the baths of *Pharao*; which I suppose to be a mistake in the people of the country, who not knowing why these baths should be called the *baths of Faran*, or rather *Paran*, have given them the name of the *baths of Pharao*. But in the times of Moses this whole country was known by the name of the wilderness of *Paran*, *Gen. xxi. 21.* *Num. x. 12. xii. 16. xiii. 3. 26. 1 Sam. xxv. 1.* whence *Mount Sinai* was also called *Mount Paran*, *Deut. xxxii. 2.* *Hab. iii. 3.* and therefore probably these baths were originally the baths of *Paran*. See Pocock's *Trav.* p. 139.

could

could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter : till the Lord shewed unto Moses a tree, which when he had cast into the waters, the waters were made sweet.

Sept. 9. WE departed from this delicious place at one o' clock after midnight ; but behold, scarce were we got out of the valley, when our guides found that two of their camels were missing, which had been stolen by some thieves during the night time. And therefore they stopped the caravan, till they went in search of their lost camels ; but not being able to hear any tidings of them, we proceeded on our journey all that night and the next day till a quarter after eleven, without suffering any great inconveniencies from the hills and vales we passed over, upon which we met with several green tufts, and prickly trees, called in Arabic *Chafem*, though on either hand of us our road was bounded with huge and rugged mountains. And having taken a moderate dinner under one of these mountains of marble, we departed from thence at three quarters after three ; and continuing our journey still in a sandy, but tolerably even road, though between hills and mountains on every side, we came, towards the setting of the sun, to a large and spacious plain, which had a gentle ascent up to it, but was itself environed by mountains : After we had passed this, we came about nine o' clock at night by an easy descent to a valley called *Nefo*, which was about a league distant from an Arab village of the same name, where was a spring of exceeding good and delightful water.

Sept. 10. HAVING pitched our tents, we remained here in order to provide ourselves with water, till four o' clock in the evening ; at which time we again set forward on our journey, and as soon as we had passed the aforementioned valley we began to rise over hills and mountains by a tolerably easy ascent, till having as it were overcome the mountain, we rested at a place called *Chamil*.

Sept. 11. IN the morning at a quarter after five we departed from this place, and through a rugged road, in which there lay a great many blocks of marble, with great difficulty we got up a very high mountain. In this road, on each hand of us, were exceeding high mountains, of the most beautiful granates of various colours, but chiefly red. At length, about three quarters after eleven we reached the summit of the mountain, or rather of the mountains, but with great difficulty, and from this place we were able to discover *Mount St. Catherine*. And from thence, descending by a tolerably easy road, we came to a valley in a plain, where, at a place called *El Barab*, we stopped at three quarters after one; and having made a short meal under a tree, we set forward again about two o'clock; going up the mountain, by a road neither very steep nor rugged, which when we had gotten the better of, we began to descend again by a tolerably open road to a valley between two exceeding high mountains of marble. And as soon as we had arrived at this valley, which was about sun-set, we immediately turned our course to the left; where we also came to another valley, beset with high mountains on either side, and having got to the top of the hill we rested ourselves, at a place called *Marab*, about half an hour after seven, where we staid all night, greatly distressed with the sharpness and severe coldness of the air. From this place to *Mount Sinai* the road is tolerably even and pleasant, with mountains of granate marble on either side.

Sept. 12. HAVING risen a little after midnight, we departed from this place about half an hour after two, and going thro' a sandy road, which lay in a valley between mountains, we came about sun-rise to a most pleasant and agreeable place called *Barak*, where was a very delightful wood, which appeared the more charming, because hitherto our road had lain only over rocks, and hills, and mountains, the very sight of which alone was sufficient to terrify the traveller. And having amused ourselves

selves for the space of an hour with the delightfulness of this wood, we again proceeded on our journey, which led us twisting and twining between rugged mountains, sometimes eastward, sometimes northward, and sometimes southward, tho' we never were out of our way. And about eight o' clock we came to a rock, which stands by itself, where the Turks say the prophet Mahomet rested himself; and where, when he attempted to sit down, the rock yielded under him like the softest wax, and formed itself into the shape of a seat for him. There appears indeed a little hollow in the stone, which may have given rise to this tradition, and on that account the Turks approach the place with great reverence, stroking the stone with the palms of their hands, and kissing it with their lips.

AND now continuing our journey towards *Mount Sinai*, in order to go the best road, we took a great circuit towards the left-hand, though there is another shorter and more direct road; yet because there are some steep ascents and descents in it, our guides chose the left-hand road, though the longer, as being better for the camels. And about three quarters after nine, as we were passing by a mosch, where a certain Shiech Saleh was buried, who is held by the Turks in great veneration, several of our guides and passengers went thither to receive a benediction; and that the camels and the rest of the beasts might be partakers of it, they brought from thence a small quantity of sand with which they sprinkled them.

AT length, about mid-day we discovered some square buildings in the neighbourhood of *Mount Sinai*, which, as I was informed, the Arabs made use of as repositories for their corn: and on the other side, upon the left-hand, we discovered the garden belonging to the convent full of trees, which is situated just at the foot of *Mount Sinai*. And going in a south-west direction, when we came just over-against the aforesaid garden, we saw another vale lie open to the south-east, in the middle of which, at

the distance of half an hour, stands the convent of the holy *Mount Sinai*; to which all of us, partly out of devotion, and partly because of the difficulty of the road, ascended on foot between two exceeding high mountains, that to the north east called Mount [k] *St. Bektin*, and the other to the right called *Horeb* or *Choreb*. In the middle between these two mountains is situated the convent of *Mount Sinai* in twenty-eight degrees of north latitude: being built in an oblong figure, with only one great door, which directly faces the north-west, and looks into that vale through which we came. And this wall of the convent towards the north west as well as that to the south east are equally two hundred and four feet long of French measure. And the other two, one of which faces the south west, and the other the north east, are each two hundred forty five feet long, being for the most part built of square stones six feet and one third broad, but are of an unequal height, according to the inequality of the foundation. I measured the corner which looks towards the west, and it was forty five feet high.

AND forasmuch as the great door is always walled up, to prevent the incursions of the Arabs, immediately after the entrance of a new archbishop, which happened this very year, every other person who is desirous of going into the convent must be drawn up with a rope to a great window thirty feet high from the ground in that part of the wall which looks to the north east. And when one is got into the convent, there is nothing of curiosity to be seen, all the buildings and edifices, especially those which concern the friars or the religious, and the less chapels, being built of rude bricks in great confusion and irregularity, without either symmetry or order, making here and there crooked and dark passages with several ascents and descents; only the building of the great church of the Transfiguration of our Saviour Jesus Christ may be considered as worthy our observation,

[k] *Q. St. Episteme*. Pocock's *Trav.* vol. i. p. 143, 147.

which.

which they say was built by the emperor Justinian; in length eighty feet, and in breadth fifty three; which breadth is diminished by a wall on either side at nine feet distance from the outward wall, for the conveniency of chapels which are made in it, as I shall hereafter mention; so that there remains only thirty five feet in the clear. In this great isle are three rows of pillars forming three naves, and the pavement is finely adorned with variety of figures in different kinds of marble: But the great altar is, after the custom of the Greeks, entirely gilt.

THE presbytery is of an oval figure both within and without; being adorned with Mosaic work, in which is represented the transfiguration of our Saviour Jesus Christ; and on the outside is the statue of the emperor Justinian, who was the founder of the church. Before the presbytery are four candlesticks, two of which are very magnificent, being six feet high, and made of brass richly ornamented; and of the like workmanship there are two more hanging down in the middle of the church, which are capable of holding several candles. There are besides many lamps hanging up and down in the church, some of silver, and some of gold; the most remarkable of which are those that hang in the presbytery, which are for the most part all of gold: but that which hangs in the great altar is also set with jewels.

NEXT to this church of the Transfiguration is the little church of the [1] *Bush*, which stands on the place where our Lord appeared unto Moses in a flame of fire out of the bush, as is described Exod. iii. 2. and is situated immediately adjoining to the wall of the presbytery; this chapel is ten feet broad and seventeen feet long; the pavement of it adorned with the same kind of work as that of the church; and the walls

[1] It is from this piece of history that this part of *Mount Horeb* is called *Mount Sinai*, the Hebrew for a *Bush* being *Sene*.

with porcellain, and there are in it several lamps both of gold and silver. This chapel, they say, was built by queen Helena, and the place where the bush grew is supposed to be directly under the altar, and is covered with plates of silver; over which stand two large candlesticks made of silver eight feet high. On the other side of this chapel are two other chapels, that to the south is called the chapel of the Seventy Martyrs, and that to the north is the chapel of St. James.

WHEN you come into the great church, there are on the south side three chapels; the first of St. John the Evangelist, the second of St. Simon the Stylite, and the third of the Saints Cosma and Damianus. And on the other side towards the north, there are also three more, viz. first of St. Andipe, secondly of the Saints Constantine and Helena, and the third of St. Mariana. This whole church is covered with lead.

BESIDES this church and these chapels, there are seventeen other little churches or chapels situated here and there in the convent: 1. that of St. Peter and St. Paul, which is tolerably large and roomy; 2. St. George; 3. St. Stephen; 4. St. Michael the archangel; 5. St. Basil, Gregory, and Chrysostome; 6. Demetrius the martyr; 7. St. Nicholas; 8. St. Moses and Aaron; 9. St. Sergius Wachus; 10. St. John Baptist; 11. St. Anthony the abbot; 12. of the five martyrs Eustratius, Euxendius, Barbarius, Orestus, and Eugenius; 13. St. John the Evangelist; 14. St. Katharine; 15 and 16. are two episcopal chapels; 17. is the garden where the friars are buried. And besides all these chapels there is one mosch with a turret for the Turks, which stands near the western door of the great church, for the preservation of which, they say, they have several immunities granted them under the hand of the prophet Mahomet. Beside this there is nothing in the convent remarkable.

THERE

THERE is no record when this convent was built, except what remains on a stone over the great door, the inscription on which is in Arabic characters, so ancient that none of us could read them except the year opv, which denotes 526. This stone, according to the tradition of the fathers of the convent, first stood over the chapel of the Bush, and was placed there by St. Helena ; but, after the great church, and the walls of the convent were built, this stone was moved out of its ancient place, and fixed in the wall where it now stands. But in my opinion, this history is without foundation, because St. Helena lived in the fourth century, whereas the aforementioned inscription belongs to the sixth century ; I rather therefore think that this stone was engraved and fixed up by the order of Justinian, who was the founder of the convent.

WHEN we first came into the convent, we were received by the fathers and brothers of the convent with the greatest affection and regard, and especially by the archbishop Jaanikius, who was the superior and president of the place ; and who gave us a very elegant supper ; and assigned us very convenient apartments, consisting of five chambers, in a part of the convent that was newly built : and also for our better accommodation indulged us with the liberty of going when we pleased into the garden, which is not permitted even to the monks. And we having there pitched a tent, dined and supped every day therein while we staid.

THE aforefaid garden is situated on the outside of the walls of the convent to the north west ; to which there is a passage under ground from the convent, with iron gates to it. This garden is sufficiently spacious, and very well supplied with good water, with which it is daily watered, and by that means produces great quantities of all sorts of plants and herbs and trees ; such as almonds, apples, peaches, olives, figs, pomegranates, pears, and in particular most delicious grapes both red and white and as this month happened to be the season for ripe grapes, as well

as many other fruits, we gave a loose to our appetites; and the air of the place being exceeding fine and wholesome, we indulged our palates with great freedom and luxury.

THE temperature of the air seemed to me as moderate as if I had been in one of the most temperate climates of France in the month of September; the heat of the day not being excessive, nor the night air insufferably cold. However, I cannot but think, that the heat of this place in summer, as well as the cold in winter, must be almost insupportable, since, during the winter season, the snow falls here in great abundance.

Sept. 13. THIS day being Holy Sunday, we were invited to attend at church, as we usually did on other days; where the archbishop himself officiated, and sang the mass clothed in his pontificalibus, with the rest of the ministers that attended him in very sumptuous apparel, wearing on his head a sort of imperial crown made in silver, of exquisite workmanship: which when ended, we went to dinner in the common refectory of the convent, with the archbishop and the rest of the monks, who fed only upon one dish; and when we had done, standing upon our feet, and taking each of us a moderate piece of bread, all cut from one loaf, we then drank also all out of one cup, the archbishop beginning first; and when all had drunk, then we broke up, and departed; which ceremony is observed as a mark of mutual love and charity.

Sept. 15. AT two in the afternoon we went out of the convent to see the holy places thereabouts; and as soon as we got out we began to ascend the mountain, which is made tolerably convenient by the means of stone steps cut in the mountain up to *Mount Sinai*, to the number of fifteen thousand. The way to it is directly southward: and after an ascent of a small half hour we came to a most delicious fountain of cold water, that springs directly out of the rock, formed here into

into a kind of grotto, of which the Greeks tell many wonderful stories; but as they seem to me to be without foundation, I think it more advisable not to repeat them.

GOING on further for another half hour we came to a small church or chapel, dedicated to the blessed virgin Mary; and going from hence along the steps, we came to a narrow part of the road which was adorned with a gate; where, they say, many confessionalary priests used formerly to sit, who heard the confessions of the pilgrims that came to visit these places, and were not permitted to proceed any further, till they had obtained remission of their sins; so that being made clean by the participation of this sacrament, they might proceed to obtain a benediction from the Lord, and mercy from God our Saviour, repeating as they went the third verse of the xxivth Psalm, *Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? and who shall stand in his holy place? Even he that hath clean hands, and a pure heart, etc.*

As soon as we had passed the gate we saw on our right hand a very high mountain towards the west, being almost perpendicular over us: towards the summit of which there grew, as it were in despite of nature, a beautiful green tree, which appeared as if it grew out of a wall. And at about the distance of another quarter of an hour, we came to another gate, which when we had passed, we entered into a beautiful plain, where there are two delightful cypress trees, and two olive trees, near to a well of sweet water, which, as they say, is only a collection of water that is made by the winter snows and rains. And to this part of *Mount Horeb* it was that Elias the prophet fled from the face of Jezebel, as is mentioned 1 Kings xix. 9. where it is said, that when he arrived at the Mount of God, *he came thither to a cave, and lodged there*; which cave exists to this very day, and is situated at the foot of *Mount Sinai*, and is now inclosed in a church that is built of red and white granate marble; the entrance into which is from the west. The dimensions of this

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cave

cave are in length five feet, in depth four feet, and in height four and a half: which when we had visited we returned to the well, and lodged all night under the olive trees. This plain where we lay was entirely surrounded with mountains, which formed two valleys, one of them extending itself to the south south west, and leading directly to the convent of the forty martyrs; the other stretching to the north west.

Sept. 16. EARLY in the morning before break of day we began to ascend the holy *Mount Sinai* from the aforesaid church of St. Elias, and found the ascent to be very sharp, so that unless the aforementioned steps had been made in the hill, by laying broad stones one upon another, we should have found the ascent to be exceeding difficult, it being much more steep than the ascent of the preceding day. The course of our road lay directly towards the south; and after an ascent of three quarters of an hour we were shewed the place, a little out of the road to the left hand, where the Mahometans say that Mahomet, together with his camel, was taken up by the angel Gabriel into heaven, and that this camel was of such a size, that it stood with one of its feet at Mecca, another at Damascus, a third at Cairo, and the fourth on Mount Sinai; where still remains the mark made by the impression of his foot in the very marble rock; which however the Greek monks acknowledge was made by themselves to gain the more esteem from the Turks towards this holy mountain, if not on account of its own sanctity, and the wonderful works performed there by God, yet at least on account of this miraculous impression of the camel's foot. Which accordingly hath prevailed on all Mahometans to treat this place with the highest regard.

At length after a small quarter of an hour we arrived on the holy *Mount Sinai*; and as soon as we had got on the plain, which is on the top of it, we immediately saw a church and a Turkish mosch. Formerly indeed there was a large church built upon.

upon this place, which almost covered and occupied as it were the whole plain; but this was destroyed by the Turks, who left one part towards the north for the use of the Christians, and reserved the other towards the south for the use of the Mahometans.

BEFORE you come to the church of the Christians there is a cave in the rock adjoining to it, into which there is a very narrow entrance. In this place, the tradition is, that Moses saw the glory of the Lord, as mentioned Exod. xxxiii. 21. *And the Lord said, Behold there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon a rock; and it shall come to pass while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a cleft of the rock; and I will cover thee with mine hand while I pass by; and I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back parts; but my face shall not be seen.* And accordingly it is said by common tradition, that it was in this cleft of the rock that Moses was hid by the Lord; where Moses nevertheless, that he might have a better view of the forementioned glory, having raised his head and body on high, left his entire figure impressed in the marble rock, to perpetuate the memory of this miracle. So that in the lower part of the rock there remains the impression as if it had been in melted wax, of his [m] knees and both his hands, and in the upper part the impression of his back and one half of his face.

AND going further on this plain we entered into the church that is contiguous to this rock just mentioned, which church is subdivided into two chapels, in the larger the Greeks perform divine service, and in the other the Roman catholics; and in this place they say it was that Moses received the two tables of testimony, as mentioned Exod. xxxi. 18. *And the Lord gave Moses in Mount Sinai two tables of testimony, tables of stone,*

[m] Quære, Might not the same chizzels that engraved the impression of the foot of Mahomet's camel, have engraved those also of the knees and hands of Moses? etc.

written with the finger of God. But on the other side of the mount, as I said, towards the south south west stands the Turkish mosch, built in the form of an oblong, in which are hanged up several vessels filled with myrrh, and other oblations which are customary with the Turks, who hold this place in the highest veneration; and I believe this mosch may be about seventy paces distant from the Christian church, the superficies of this plain on the top of *Mount Sinai* not being very large.

UNDER the Eastern part of this mosch there is another cave; greater than that of St. Elias, in which they say Moses commonly dwelt when he was upon the top of this holy mount; the door of which cave looks towards the valley which extends itself towards the south west. And in this valley stands *Rephidim*, of which there is mention made Exod. xvii. 1. where the Israelites murmured for want of water. From this mountain there is a fair prospect of *Mount St. Catharine*, lying towards the south west, and of the *Red-sea* towards the south and west. And after we had each of us performed our devotions, we immediately descended again towards the well on *Mount Horeb*, from whence we last came.

AND after we had dined we departed from thence at eleven o' clock through the valley which extends itself towards the north west, which conducted us as it were in a circle towards the south; and in this journey we met with several places that were formerly inhabited, as also with some churches, the most remarkable of which is that of St. Pantaleon; over which, towards the summit of the mountain, on the left hand towards the south east, there is a cave, in which two kings sons spent their lives in performing rigid penances. And a little further from this church we began to descend a very steep mountain for a whole hour; and when we came into the valley, we found a convent which is called the Convent of the forty martyrs.

THE Convent of the forty martyrs is situated in the midst of a vale, having *Mount Sinai* on the east and *Mount St. Catherine's* on the west. But before I had entered the convent, two Arabs came up to me, and saluted me very amicably, and after they had lighted their match from my pipe, they departed ; waiting at some distance for the arrival of a monk that was our guide, who had staid behind with the rest of our companions, for I had come hither alone, having outwalked the rest : but upon their arrival the two Arabs stopped the rest of the company, and threatened to fire among them, if they did not deliver up the monk who was their conductor, and oblige him to come out from among them ; which when it was done, they took him and bound him, and carried him off to the neighbouring mountains ; saying to the rest, “ Depart in peace, for we have no ill will to you, but have a reckoning to make up with this rascal of a monk ;” who followed them without attempting to resist.

THIS affair gave my companions a great deal of concern ; for though they seemed able to have set the monk at liberty, yet they well knew that if those two Arabs had made any noise, they would upon the least notice have had an hundred more come to their assistance. For when two young Greeks, who were well armed, were going, contrary to the opinion of the rest, to the relief of the monk, the Arabs began immediately to fire at us ; upon which we all retired instantly towards the convent, and left the monk in their hands, with whom they soon made up their reckoning, and paid him in stripes the account which they had to make up with the convent, of which he was the interpreter and procurator.

THE Convent of the forty martyrs has a small church, and but very indifferent accommodations for lodging ; only the garden is large and handsome, and well stored with all kinds of fruit, and is surrounded as it were with a wood of olive trees. There is likewise a reservoir of good rain-water, and a small
5 spring,

spring of fresh water, that runs through it from the mountains, which waters the garden and all the adjacent valley.

Sept. 17. EARLY this morning those of our company who were heal and strong departed to go up the mountain of *St. Catharine*, but I, with about half the company, staid behind in the convent. The history of which journey is as follows: As soon as they were departed out of the convent, they began their journey towards the south west, and after half an hour they began to ascend a very rough mountain, and difficult of ascent; for as there were no steps formed upon it, but the whole way was covered with small trundling stones, these gave way under the feet. In this road there is an abundance of curious stones, and pendent rocks on either side, that are wonderfully marked by nature with the most beautiful veins, which shoot forth in the resemblance of trees, whose branches are so very minute, and yet so very exact, that art could not possibly come up to it. And of these they brought back with them a good quantity.

AFTER an hour's travel they came to the water called *The water of the partridges*, where this most delightful spring breaks forth out of some rude marble rocks, which are of a black colour. This fountain, the Greeks say, broke out miraculously when the body of *St. Catharine* was carried from this mountain to the great convent, where her relicks are preserved to this day; at which time the bearers of her corpse being ready to perish with thirst, the partridges which attended her funeral from the summit of the mountain, conducted them to this place, and discovered the fountain unto them.

FROM this water, after three quarters of an hour, our travellers came to a plain from whence they were able to discover the summit of *Mount St. Catharine*; and after they had walked in this plain for a good half hour, they began again to ascend the mountain, the greatest difficulty of which is towards the top.
So

So that the whole time of travelling from the convent of the forty martyrs to *Mount St. Catharine* may be looked upon to be about three hours.

ON the summit of this mountain there is a small plain, on which, according to the tradition of the Greeks, was brought and deposited by angels from Alexandria, the body of St. Catharine the virgin and martyr, who suffered under the emperor Maximin; and there remains still to be seen the mark of the place where her corpse was deposited, as you look towards *Mount Sinai*, which stands to the north east, at about four hours distance. The length of this [n] impression is seven feet in black and white marble granate, with a little mixture both of red and yellow spots. And about a year ago the monks built a small chapel over this tomb, seven feet eight inches broad, ten feet long, and six feet high.

FROM this mountain, which overlooks all the rest, there is an exceeding fine and extensive prospect. *Mount Sinai*, as I said before, lies towards the north east, the *Red-sea* to the west, as also *Tor*, a place situated on the Red-sea, at two days journey distance from hence. To the south appears that extended arm of the Red-sea, which is called the *Elanic gulph*, upon which the famous port of Elana formerly stood.

Sept. 18. WE departed from this convent of the forty martyrs at a quarter after seven, through that vale which extends itself directly towards the north west, and descending from the garden of the convent for a quarter of an hour, we came, as it were, through a wood of olive trees to the church and cave of St. Onuphrius, in which he spent a devout life for forty years. Which when we had visited, and had gone for another quarter

[n] Quære. Might not the same workmen that engraved the impression of the foot of Mahomet's camel, have engraved this also?

of an hour through the aforesaid valley we came to the stone which is called by the Greeks the stone of the Fountains ; which Moses struck [*o*] twice with his rod, as is described Num. xx. 11, where it is said, *And Moses lift up his hand, and with his rod he smote the rock twice ; and the water came out abundantly.*

Which aforementioned [*p*] stone or solitary rock is about twelve feet high, and about eight or ten feet broad, though it is not

[*o*] N. B. Here our traveller is mistaken in his quotation out of the Scriptures, for this is not the stone which Moses struck twice, as mentioned Numb. xx. 11. but the rock in the valley of *Raphidim*, where the children of Israel fought the Amalekites, before they arrived at *Mount Sinai*, as mentioned Exod. xvii. 7. whereas that stone which Moses struck *twice*, as mentioned Numb. xx. 11. is that stone which will be spoken of hereafter in this Journal, under the transactions of October 2.

[*p*] N. B. The Devil tempted our Saviour by quoting texts of Scripture ; and as he hath continued ever since to endeavour by pious frauds to deceive, if possible, the very elect, he therefore exciteth men, of sometimes good intentions, to forge false miracles, to invalidate by that means, as far as lies in his power, those which were performed by our Saviour and his apostles. One flagrant instance of which among many, are those cursed and hellish frauds practised by the Grecian monks of *Mount Sinai*, in graving impressions in the rock of the foot of Mahomet's camel, and of the body of St. Catharine and of Moses ; which would take off from the evidence which this wonderful rock of *Meribah* daily gives of the truth of the Mosaic history, if it was possible for the Devil to effect it. But as the marks in that stone are of such a nature as that human art is not capable of imitating them, the finger of God sheweth its own handy-work in the supernatural fissures, which are broken deep into the solid granate, in such a manner as not possibly to have been effected by human art. To convince the reader of which, I shall here give him a copy of the description of this remarkable stone, as I find it in the Travels of Dr. Shaw and Dr. Pocock.

The description of this rock, as given us by my friend Dr. Shaw, is as follows : “ After we had descended with no small difficulty down the western side
“ of this mountain, we came into the other plain that is formed by it ; which
“ is *Raphidim*, Exod. xvii. 1. Here we still see that extraordinary antiquity
“ the rock of *Meribah*, Exod. xvii. 6. which hath continued down to this day
“ without the least injury from time or accidents. It is a block of granate
“ marble, about four yards square, lying tottering as it were and loose in the
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all of one equal breadth; it is a granate marble of a kind of brick-colour, composed of red and white spots which are both dusky in their kind; and stands by itself in the aforementioned valley as if it had grown out of the earth, on the right hand of the road towards the north east, whereon there remains to this day the lively impress of the miracle then wrought: for there are still to be seen the places whence the water gushed

“ middle of the valley, and seems to have formerly belonged to *Mount Sinai*,
 “ which hangs in a variety of precipices all over this plain. *The waters which*
 “ *gushed out, and the stream which flowed withal*, Psal. vii. 8, 21, have hollowed
 “ across one corner of this rock a channel about two inches deep and twenty wide,
 “ appearing to be crusted all over, like the inside of a tea-kettle that hath
 “ been long in use. Besides several mossy productions that are still preserved
 “ by the dew, we see all over this channel a great number of holes, some of
 “ them four or five inches deep, and one or two in diameter, the lively and de-
 “ monstrable tokens of their having been formerly so many fountains. It like-
 “ wise may be further observed, that art or chance could by no means be
 “ concerned in the contrivance: For every circumstance points out to us a
 “ miracle, and in the same manner with the rent in the rock of *Mount Cal-*
 “ *vary at Jerusalem*, never fails to produce a religious surprize in all who see
 “ it.”

The account which my worthy friend Dr. Pococke gives of it is this. “ Here
 “ they shew the rock which, they say, Moses struck and the waters flowed
 “ out, when God told him he would stand before him upon the rock of *Horeb*,
 “ which was afterwards called *Massah* and *Meribah*; it is on the foot of
 “ *Mount Serick*, and is a red granate stone fifteen feet long, ten wide, and
 “ about twelve high. On both sides of it, towards the south end, and at the
 “ top of the stone, for about the breadth of eight inches, it is discoloured as by
 “ the running of water; and all down this part on both sides, and at the top,
 “ are a sort of openings or mouths, some of which resemble the lion’s mouth,
 “ that is sometimes cut in stone spouts, but appear not to be the work of a
 “ tool. There are about twelve on each side, and within every one is an hori-
 “ zontal crack, and in some also a crack perpendicularly down. There is also a
 “ crack from one of the mouths next the hill, that extends two or three feet
 “ towards the north, and all round the south end. The Arabs call this stone
 “ the *Stone of Moses*.”

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out, six openings towards the south west, and six others towards the north east, and in those places where the water flowed, the clefts are still to be seen in the rock, as it were with lips.

WHICH when he had attentively observed we proceeded on our journey, going directly forward towards the north-west; and after a journey of a small half hour reached the end of the afore-said valley. Where we found a great plain, into which another valley opens itself, and extends towards the north east. In this great plain towards the south west, on a moderate rising, is situated the garden of the convent of Friars, which is guarded by the Arabs, and has a small stream of sweet water running constantly through it, and with which it is supplied; and in the said garden are nine very stately cedars, of which two exceed the rest in height, and are of a prodigious size; besides many other trees, such as apples, pears, vines, etc. The little Church of St. Peter and St. Paul stands in the bottom of the garden, as also a small building belonging to the convent, which is inhabited by the Arabs who watch the garden.

IN this great plain, which is on the outside of the garden, and which extends itself, as I observed before, towards the north east, that [q] transaction is said to have happened which is described Num. xvi. 32. concerning the rebellion of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, when the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up them and their families. This plain or vale is pretty near of one equal breadth, through which when we had travelled from

[q] Here our traveller and his informers are again mistaken in the history of the transactions of the Israelites; for the rebellion of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram did not happen while Moses was upon *Mount Sinai*, or in the neighbourhood of it. Nor till the Israelites had arrived at the foot of *Mount Hor*, which is quite at the other end of this promontory, and had refused to go and take possession of the land of *Canaan* after the return of the spies from thence, as mentioned Numb. xiv. 1. &c.

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the garden of the convent about a small half hour, we came to a place where the Greeks shewed us in the granate marble, which is of a brick-duft colour, (as most of the neighbouring mountains are) a hole or cavity, where, they say, Aaron cast the head of the golden calf, as is described Exod. xxxii. 4. when the people gave him the golden ear-rings which were in their ears, and *he received them at their hand, and fashioned it with a graving tool, and after he made it a golden calf.* And ver. 24. Aaron is represented as excusing himself, saying, *And I said unto them, Whosoever bath any gold, let him break it off; so they gave it me: then I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf.* This cavity is indeed formed in such a manner as to afford some small resemblance to the head of a calf, having marks in it something like horns, and being in length about two feet and a half, in breadth two feet, and in depth two. At the bottom of it is earth or sand, which seemed to me to be about three feet deep; but I cannot be positive as to that, since we neither had time nor opportunity for extracting it out of the cavity, or *model* as the Greeks pretend it to be; much less could we discover any impressions of a nose or mouth, or of ears or eyes; wherefore, as the holy Scriptures speak of the formation of a whole calf, and not of an head only, there seems to me to be a good deal of reason for rejecting this piece of tradition. The Greeks however, to impose the more upon the ignorant, say, that though it rains ever so much, no water is seen to lye in this hole; they persist in this declaration, and alledge in proof of it [r] quotations out of the fathers, tho' Pere Claud Sicard says that last year he

[r] Quotations out of the fathers for proof of a matter of fact produced by persons who live upon the spot, seem to be an odd kind of argument. And the introduction of Pere Sicard's opinion in opposition to this declaration of the Greeks, seems quite as odd; for they do not assert that snow wont lie there, but only that rain will not, which father Sicard's assertion does not contradict.

found some snow actually lying in the cavity, and that it was quite filled with it ; whence it is reasonable to believe, that the cause why the rain doth not lie in it, is owing to some hole at the bottom of the cavity, which emits it as fast as it enters and has passed through the sand. But that in this place or hereabouts the Israelites worshiped the golden calf is somewhat probable, inasmuch as there are some rocks here twelve or fifteen feet high, upon which when the golden calf was set up, it might easily be seen and adored by all the people who were situated in this wide and extensive vale ; and further, because this place likewise answers and is situated directly overagainst another vale to the eastward, by which, they say, Moses descended from *Mount Sinai*, when he brought with him the tables of testimony, where, they say, it was that he broke them, when he came to the foot of the mountain.

GOING on our journey through this same valley, we came in a quarter of an hour from this place noted for the *head* to that garden, which we first saw, when we came to these parts ; here we found a spring of fresh water, and much fruit. And now having altered our rout towards the south east, at about the distance of a gun-shot from the garden, they shewed us a stone about two feet high from the ground, on which are engraved some unknown characters, which however, they say, were engraved by Jeremiah the prophet in honour of Moses and Aaron who were buried there. But this is what I give no credit to, since I find it written of the [s] burial place of Moses, Deut. xxxiv. 6. *But no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.* At length in a small half hour from hence we arrived at the convent

[s] As to the burial place of Aaron it is positively said that he died and was buried upon *Mount Her*, at the further end of this promontory from *Mount Sinai*. See Numb. xx. 28. xxxiii. 38. Deut. xxxii. 50. And Moses died on the top of *Pisgah* in the land of Moab, over against Jericho, Deut. xxxiv. 1, 5.

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of *Mount Sinai*, making this day from the convent of the Forty martyrs hither a journey of two hours and a quarter. And having finished our progress, we saw every thing that was to be seen here with the greatest satisfaction.

Sept. 19. THE Greeks celebrated the feast of the blessed virgin Mary. And the archbishop again officiated, cloathed in his *pontificalibus*; and when mass was done, we were, as usual, conducted to the refectory, where, before dinner, we had our feet washed by some of the monks, while the rest chanted their devotions during the operation. And as soon as the washing was over, every one according to his inclination and abilities gave for the use of the convent either one or two *chequins*. As for the rest of the time, while we staid there, nothing remarkable happened.

Oct. 1. ON this day we opened a chest, kept on the right hand of the presbytery, in which are preserved the relicks of St. Catharine; and the principal parts they brought forth to shew us, were the skull and left hand of this saint, having the flesh and skin on it, but quite dried up, and covered with beautiful rings. After we had been favoured with this sight we were permitted to depart; taking leave therefore of the arch-bishop, and the rest of the monks, we came out of the convent about noon, amidst the noisy clamours of the Arabs, by the same way that we entered. When we arrived at the place of *The head*, we stopped, and, having pitched our tents, were forced to continue there the remainder of that day whether we would or not. After a great deal of bustle, we at length made our contract with the Arabs, to carry us back a better road by *Tor* than that which we came; Accordingly,

Oct. 2. WE departed about two o'clock in the morning, and taking the same rout by which we came, we rested after three hours and a quarter's travelling, and stopped in a place where
was

was good water, at no great distance from the [t] stone of Mahomet, and after we had laid in our provision of water we departed about eleven o'clock. And in about half an hour we again passed by the stone, where, as I said, Mahomet seated himself; and in another hour we entered the [u] shady wood before mentioned. About three o'clock we passed by a large [x] rock on our left hand, in which, as in that other rock which Moses struck with his rod, appear from the bottom to the top openings where water hath gushed out. Which when we had passed by, we stopped in an open plain, where we staid all night.

Oct. 3. ABOUT three quarters after three in the morning we departed from this place, and at four o'clock, being about day break, we turned out of the road by which we first came, and leaving the valley leading to *Marab* on the right hand, we entered into a large vale between very rude mountains, commonly called *Gebel Faran*, our course then pointing towards the north

[t] See page, 13. Sept. 12.

[u] This place is called *Barak*, see Sept. 12. p. 13.

[x] This is a very remarkable passage, it being the only place, that, in any book of travels, I have ever met with the mention of this second stone which Moses struck, though it is manifest from the Scriptures, that he struck two different stones, and at very different times. And as this is in a retired part of the wilderness, it is a wonderful confirmation of the veracity of the Mosaic history, for which reason, independent of all curiosity, I should think it worth while, to employ some person to go thither, who should be very particular in his description of it. The first stone which Moses struck, is mentioned in the xviith chapter of Exodus, to have been in the valley of *Rephidim*, and before the arrival of the Israelites at *Mount Sinai*. Whereas the second which Moses struck *twice* before the waters gushed out, is mentioned in the xxth chapter of Numbers as being in the wilderness of *Kadesh*; after the death of Miriam, and not long before the death of Aaron. So that there was about 38 years distance between the one transaction and the other.

west.

west. And passing through this vale by a tolerably easy descent, we found it adorn'd with trees and dates on both sides of us, here and there interspersed with the habitations of Arabs, and full of birds, which entertained us very agreeably with their charming notes. About three quarters after eight we passed by a place on a mountain upon our right hand, called *Kabegin*, which was entirely destroyed, nothing remaining of it but the ruins. And after a journey of another half hour we came to another ruined place, called [y] *Faran*, about a quarter after nine, situated likewise on our right hand. This was formerly a large city containing many convents of the Greeks: For it was an episcopal city, under the jurisdiction of *Mount Sinai*; and formerly had the famous Theodorus for its bishop, who wrote against the Monothelites. But at present nothing remains but heaps of the ruins of this famous city. Here we were obliged to stop on account of the disputes between the Arabs.

IN this place no one is suffered to put pen to paper, by reason of a tradition they have, that here was formerly a [z] river, and that when an European was going to write down a description of it, out of indignation it sunk under ground and

[y] This should be written *Paran*. Which place was famous in history so long ago as in the days of Abraham; the four kings who took his nephew Lot prisoner, having, first in their passage round the Dead sea, *Smote the Horites in their Mount Seir*, or Mount Hor, *unto EL-PARAN, which is by the wilderness*. And from whence this wilderness is frequently called the Wilderness of Paran. See note in page, 10. Sept. 8.

[z] This tradition is very remarkable. For as the author describes his journey from the second rock of Moses towards this place to have been through a vale *by a tolerably easy descent*, it is possible that this tradition may have arisen from the water which flowed out of this rock, and formed a river, which, as St. Paul describes it^a, *followed them* during their abode in that part of the wilderness, but probably dried up soon after their departure.

^a 1 Cor. x. 4.

has disappeared ever since. We departed from hence soon after three, and after three quarters of an hour we again stopped at a place called *Magai*; where we found good water, with which we plentifully supplied ourselves.

Oct. 4. WE departed from hence about three quarters after four in the morning, and continuing our journey by a pretty sharp descent, got out at length from among the monstrous mountains of *Gebel Faran*, and came to a large plain, surrounded however with high hills, at the foot of one of which we reposed ourselves under our tents at about half an hour after ten. These hills are called *Gebel el Mokatab*, that is, *the written mountains*: For as soon as we had parted from the *mountains of Faran* we passed by several others for an hour together, engraved with ancient unknown characters, which were cut into the hard marble rock so high as to be in some places at twelve or fourteen feet distance from the ground: and though we had in our company persons, who were acquainted with the Arabick, Greek, Hebrew, Syriack, Coptic, Latin; Armenian, Turkish, English, Illyrican, German, and Bohemian, languages, yet none of them had any knowledge of these characters; which have nevertheless been cut into the hard rock with the greatest industry, in a place where there is neither water, nor any thing to be gotten to eat. It is probable therefore these unknown [a] characters contain some very secret mysteries, and that they were engraved either by the Chaldæans, or some other persons long before the coming of Christ. In this place where we this day rested there

[a] The learned allow that the ancient Hebrew character, having been disused during the Babylonish captivity, is lost, and that it is the Chaldee character which we now use instead of it. The probability is therefore, that these characters are the ancient Hebrew character, which the Israelites having learned to write, at the time of the giving the law from *Mount Sinai*, diverted themselves with practising it on these mountains during their forty years abode in the wilderness.

are two roads, one leading through a valley to *Tor*, and stretching directly westward; the other road towards the north west, leading directly to *Suefs*. Here the Arabs refusing to carry us all according to our agreement to *Tor*, a violent bustle arose, till at length it was concluded we should go directly to *Suefs*, passing by the baths of *Pharao*, of which by and by. Thus submitting, whether we would or not, to the determination of the Arabs, the day following being

Oct. 5. WE departed at half an hour after six, and by that road which leads north west, proceeded towards the baths of *Pharao*; and continuing our journey through these mountains, which, they say, are also written with unknown characters like the others, we stopped at half an hour after nine in a plain totally surrounded with mountains. After dinner we went to a neighbouring valley which lay west-ward called *Megena*, where is a grotto cut with infinite labour in the marble rock, the entrance into which, is, by the injury of time and weather, for the most part obstructed by great stones; and even the cave itself almost half filled with sand. Being obliged to use the help of candles and other lights, on our entrance we came immediately to a great hall, supported on every side by rude unfinished pillars. This grotto we could perceive reached a great deal further, but on account of the excessive heats, we declined exploring it on, and we found that the further we went, the more the passage was obstructed with sand. At length we concluded that this cave was built for a [b] burial place to the Egyptians. But the inhabitants of the place, as well as the Arabs, say, that a certain Schiech, called Abuzelime, dwells in it, who drinks coffee continually brought from Mecca by birds, and pounded in mortars by an-

[b] This supposition is in my opinion a little extravagant, considering the great distance this place is from *Egypt*. But I see no reason why it may not have been made by the Israelites during their abode in the wilderness, for some publick use or other.

gels; with many other such like fables, which I do not think worth while to enumerate.

Oct. 6. WE departed from hence at three quarters after four, and having reached the top of a mountain by an easy ascent, about three quarters after seven we discovered the *Red-sea* lying to the west. We all however, travelled down on foot, the descent being pretty sharp; and a little afterwards came to a plain, where we proceeded on streight forward between the hills; and at ten o'clock, coming out from among the mountains towards the north west, we approached to the sea shore; and continuing our journey till half an hour after eleven we then stopped, and rested ourselves in a plain at about an hours distance from the sea; this we did on account of some fresh water we found here, of which we laid in a good quantity against our ensuing journey over the next mountains, at an hour's distance from us toward the east.

Oct. 7. HERE we remained till after mid day, and about two o'clock set forward keeping upon the sea shore; till about sunset we again left the sea, and arrived between the mountains by a tolerably easy ascent, after we had passed the mountain called *Gebel el Scheitan*, that is, the mountain of the Devil. Which as it is entirely of a black colour gives foundation for the Arabs to report, that the devil sometimes dressed his victuals under it, by the smoak of which it acquired that blackness. They relate also another fabulous history about a head erected on high towards the entrance into the mountains, upon the left hand of the road; being a very large stone, supposed to have been the head of a sea captain, whose name was Baube, which was cut off by the Arabs, and put on the summit of that mountain where it now remains, and that in one night's time it was turned into stone, and they say, should any one throw it down from the place where it is fixt, it would by next day be restored to its situation. But these are only the fables of the Arabs. Proceeding on by the dusk of the evening in the forementioned valley,

till three quarters after six, as it was full of trees, we rested there that night.

Oct. 8. WE departed from hence about sun-rise, and after a journey of three hours stopped, on account of a dispute with the Arabs, whether we should go or not to the baths of Pharao. And after a quarter of an hour we again set forward, still descending a moderate hill, till we came to a place where two roads meet, one leading directly to *Suefs*, and the other on the left hand to the baths of *Pharao*. Here a terrible dissension arose, and the utmost confusion, some taking the rout towards *Suefs*, and others going towards the baths of *Pharao*; till at length, after a dreadful contest those returned who had departed for *Suefs*, and all went on together by the valley which leads to the baths of *Pharao*.

AFTER a journey of two hours we got clear of the mountains, and came near the sea which lay to the west of us; and continuing our road towards the sea coast, after a journey of one hour we stopped. Then changing our rout to the left, we travelled southwards upon the sea shore, and came with our dromedaries to the baths of *Pharao*, which are about three quarters of an hour from the high road. Where being arrived we considered the place very accurately. It is at the foot of an exceeding high mountain, stretching from east to west till it terminates on the sea at about the distance of a stone's cast from it; and in this intermediate space the aforementioned mineral waters break forth, and bubble up, making three distinct streams, which run into the sea, and are so hot that a man can hardly bear his hand or foot in them. These waters have a salt and sulphureous taste, and leave a yellow tinge behind on the place from whence they issue, but are otherwise in themselves very clear and pellucid. At length we came to the fountain head where are two caves or hollows in the mountain which diminish irregularly; that towards the left, being the largest, forms itself, as it were into a chamber,

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ber, into which when any person enters it raises as wonderful a sweat as if he was in a very hot bath. Hither many sick persons resort, and by sweating for forty days successively, and regular diet, and drinking the mineral water, recover their health.

THE water is often sent for to *Cairo*, by those that cannot conveniently come to the fountain, and frequently drunk at home with good success. The inhabitants of the place say, that if you put four eggs into any of the baths, three of them will be boiled, and the fourth will disappear. But this I give no credit to, unless I had seen the experiment. They are called [c] *Hamam el Pharaone*, that is, the baths of *Pharao*; because possibly it might formerly have been frequented by *Pharao*. Whence also the adjoining sea which is three or four leagues broad is called *Berke el Pharaone*, or the lake of *Pharao*. And as it is a good station for casting anchor in, a ship happened at this very time to be riding here at anchor waiting for a favourable wind to carry her to *Gidda*.

HAVING taken a careful view of this bath and the places about it, we departed to join the rest of our caravan: and overtook it late at night, situated on the sea shore in the valley of [d] *Gorondou* where the rivulet beforementioned empties itself into the sea; and is here both bitter and salt, and very disagreeable to the taste. We spent in this place a very uneasy night on account of the high wind, which drove the sand in great quantities upon us, and incommoded us very much.

OCT. 9. ABOUT sun-rise we departed, and in our course along the sea shore were still much disturbed by the high wind. Af-

[c] Hence possibly hot baths in England are called *hummums*. See also the note p. 12, Sept. 8.

[d] See Sept. 8. p. 10.

ter a journey of six hours, having left all the mountains, we travelled over several little hills and rising grounds, and rested in a place where were several tufts of green grass; and after we had refreshed ourselves with a moderate dinner, we travelled on again for four hours and a half, till it was pretty late in the night; and two hours before we stopped, passed a place near the sea where was a stream of excellent sweet water.

Oct. 10. THAT we might get beyond *Suefs* we departed from hence soon after mid-night, but after a journey of two hours it was so dark that we were forced to stop whether we would or not, for fear of the camels falling. And at half an hour after four, it being dawn of day, we set forward again, and in seven hours came to the wells of Moses, called [*e*] *Ain el Musa*. Immediately upon our arrival there, all we who were on horse-back pursued our journey, and rode on before, to provide a ship to carry us all to the other side of the gulph. After we had taken some rest, the caravan came up to us about five o'clock; by which time the ship being got ready, we went aboard with all our concerns, and, when landed, lodged ourselves in our former [*f*] camp on the outside of the city of *Suefs*. Here we found only two ships which were to sail in two days time.

Oct. 11. WE remained in our tents at *Suefs*, being visited by the christians of the place, who also entertained us with an elegant supper.

Oct. 12. THIS whole day we saw those Arabs passing by who are the most inveterate enemies to the Arabs of *Mount Sinai*. And lest we should encounter them on the road, we staid on purpose till the following day.

Oct. 13. AND now imagining that all the Arabs, who were at enmity with us were gone by, we departed from *Suefs*; and

[*e*] See Sept. 6. p. 8.

[*f*] See Sept. 5. p. 6.

after a journey of a good hour stopped at [g] *Bir el Suefs*, before described, and after a moderate dinner there, we again set forward, and when we were not far distant from [b] *Agirut*, we perceived a caravan of our enemies just over against us, which we all thought had passed by long ago; so that though they were going another road at the distance from us of a gun-shot, yet nevertheless our Arabs prepared themselves for battle, alighting from their camels, and marching on foot armed with lances, swords and guns; while four of the chief of them galloping their horses between the enemy's caravan and ours, attempted, by insulting them in this bravading manner, [i] to provoke them to an engagement. For though the camels of our enemy's caravan were much more numerous than ours, yet we were stronger in the number of armed men, so that they durst not attack us, but hastened their pace to pass by us; and it was not unpleasant to behold those that were in the rear galloping after the rest for fear we should take them prisoners. When they were gone, we soon after turned towards the road along which our enemies came, which was upon our right hand, and having passed *Agirut* upon our left hand, of which we have [k] already spoken, we continued our course between hills and rising grounds, interspersed here and there with tufts of green herbs, on which the camels fed, being about six Italian miles distant from the road which we passed in our former journey. At length we stopped when we were come three hours and a half from *Agirut* and seven hours and an half from *Suefs*, and when we were within sight of the mountains of [l] *Hubebi* which were about a good league distant from us towards the north.

Oct. 14. AT half an hour after four in the morning we departed again from this place, and about sun-rise saw seven

[g] See Sept. 5. p. 8.

[b] See Sept. 5. *ibid.* [i] Or at least to shew they were not afraid of them.

[k] See Sept. 5. p. 6. [l] See Sept. 4. p. 6.

animals called Gafell, and a good many hares feeding on the aforementioned green tufts. And having passed by the mountain *Hubebi*, at, as I said, about a league's distance, we stopped at half an hour after eleven, and at one o'clock after dinner we again set forward on our journey, and travelled till half an hour after five, when we stopped near a little hill.

Oct. 15. WE proceeded on our journey this morning at about half an hour after five, travelling as before between hills and rising grounds, and rested ourselves at half an hour after nine. And having quitted the road that leads by the village of [*m*] *Chanke*, we pursued our journey directly towards *Cairo*. For which place we set forward at half an hour after one, leaving those [*n*] sandy hills on our right hand through which we passed in our former journey. And a little before sun-set we mounted up a little hill called *Daher el Homar*, that is the asses back, from whence we got a view of the situation of *Cairo*, at four hours and a half distance from us; and prosecuting our journey between twilight and the light of the moon, we at length came about nine o'clock to the last stage called [*o*] *Ukalt el Babaar*, where our friends were gathered together expecting our arrival. They received us very affectionately with singing, and exultations, and embraces; and according to the custom of the orientals, spending the night in noisy clamours, and clapping their hands.

Oct. 16. THIS day we entered the city in good health by the port of *Baab el Naasar*, and I arrived at my own house, thanks be to God, who brought me thither safe from all mischief.

[*m*] See Sept. 2. p. 4.

[*n*] See Sept. 3. p. 5.

[*o*] See Sept. 1. p. 3.

AND, Gentlemen, when the person whom you think proper to employ is gotten so far as *Mount Sinai*, I think it would be adviseable to engage him to take a view of that whole promontory. And in particular to go and visit *Sbarme* which [a] Dr. Pococke says is about a day and a halfs journey south east from *Mount Sinai*; and from whence the Monks of *Mount Sinai* are chiefly supplied with fish. Which I suppose to be the place where Jethro the prince of *Midian* lived whose daughter Zipporah was married to Moses. Because it is manifest that Jethro lived at about that distance from *Mount Sinai*. For it is said in the book of Exodus, when Moses was returning to *Egypt* by command from God, and was bringing his wife and children along with him, that when he was arrived at the first [b] stage from the habitation of his father in law Jethro, he there was met by the angel of the Lord, who obliged him to send his wife and children [c] back again. After which he pursued his journey and met his brother Aaron at [d] *Mount Horeb*.

And probably it was from this situation near the sea shore, that the family of Jethro were called [e] Kenites. The word *ken* in Hebrew signifies a *nest*, a

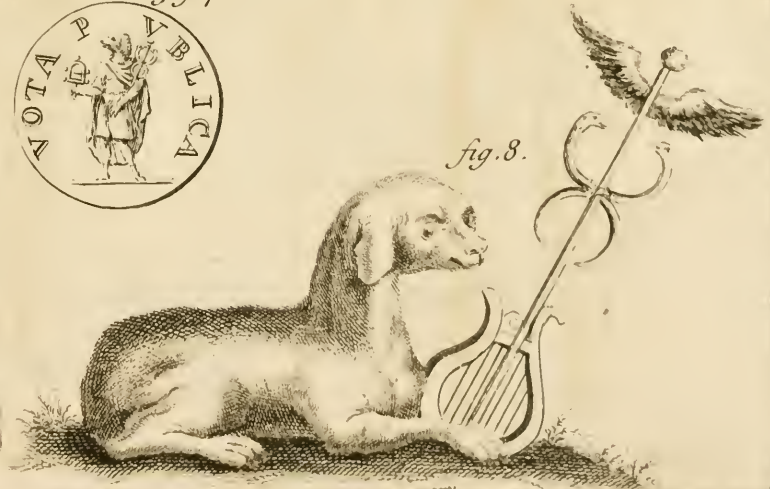
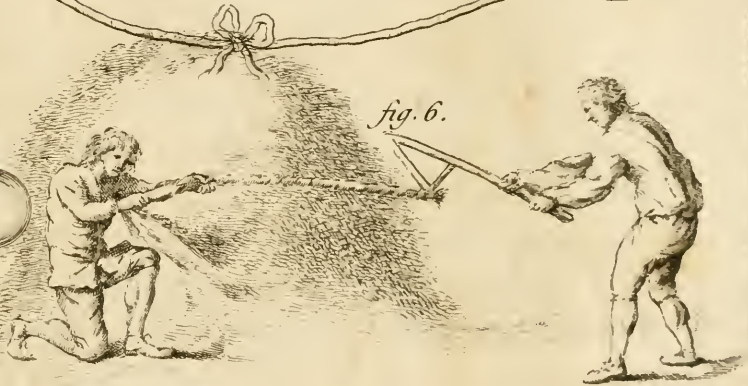
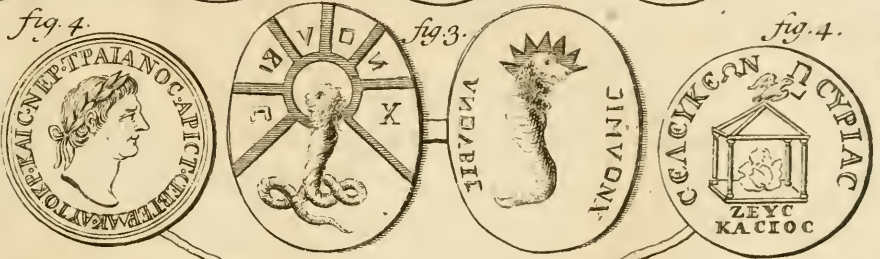
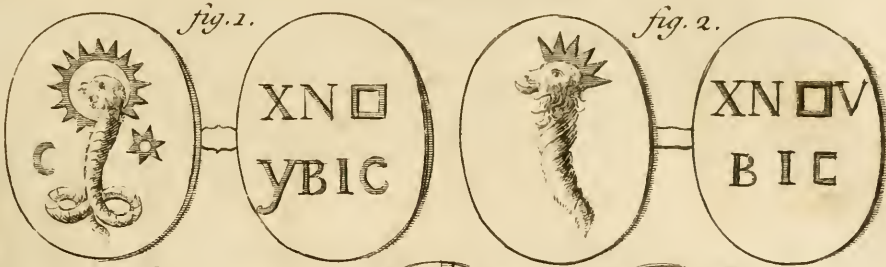
[a] Poc. Trav. p. 137. [b] Exod. iv. 24. [c] Exod. xviii. 2.

[d] Exod. iv. 27. [e] Judg. i. 16. iv. 11, 17.

PLATE I.



PLATE II.



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hole, or cave; and therefore Balaam, when he was blessing the Israelites, and looked upon the Kenites who were among them, took up his parable and said, *Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou puttest thy NEST in a rock.* Num. xxiv. 20.

HE should likewise visit [*f*] *Dizabab*, which is mentioned Deut. i. 1. and which is to this day called [*g*] *Dzabab* or *Meenab el Dzabab*, which literally signifies the port of gold; and is probably the same place with *Eziongeber* mentioned Numb. xxxiii. 35. and Deut. ii. 8. as also 1 Kings ix. 26. and 2 Chron. viii. 17. as that port in the *Red-sea* from whence Solomon sent his ships to bring gold from *Ophir*. And possibly in crossing over the promontory from thence towards *Egypt*, he may find out some traces of the city of *Kadesb*, mentioned Num. xx. 16. and in numberless other places, from whence that whole wilderness was denominated *the wilderness of Kadesb*. Which city was originally called *En-Misbpat*, that is, the fountain or seat of judgment, Gen. xiv. 7. as being probably the chief city of the territory and the place where the courts of judicature were held. The fixing of the situation of which place would give great light into the historical part of the travels of the children of *Israel* during the time of their forty years wandering in the wilderness of *Kadesb*.

[*f*] In the Hebrew it is, *Zabab* or *Dzabab*, as it should have been translated.

[*g*] Shaw's Trav. p. 356.

ON his return to *Egypt* he might be desired to make a particular enquiry into the situation of *Memphis*; which though it is fixed by Sir Isaac Newton and Dr. Shaw and others to have been at *Geeza* on the western banks of the *Nile*, just over against *Grand Cairo*; yet, according to Herodotus, must have been a good deal higher up the river on the south east corner of the lake *Mæris*, or *Birque of Charon* as it is now called [b]. Dr. Pococke hath indeed placed it a little higher up the river than *Geeza*, that is, between *Mokanan* and *Metraheny*. But in my humble opinion it must have been still higher up and nearer to the lake *Mæris*, as I think will sufficiently appear from quoting the description given of it by Herodotus.

Who says, “ that the priests informed him, that
 “ Menes, who was the first king of *Egypt*, by throw-
 “ ing up a rampart above *Memphis*, of about 100 [i]
 “ stades in length stretching towards the south, dried
 “ up that part of the *Nile*, which to his time had pas-
 “ sed by the foot of the mountain of sand in *Libya*,
 “ and caused the water to run from a certain angle
 “ through the hills by a new channel. That this
 “ channel was diligently preserved in his time; and
 “ annually repaired by the Persians; because if the

[b] Poc. Trav. p. 40.

[i] A stade is an Egyptian measure equal to 200 fathom or 400 yards. So that allowing 2000 yards to a mile, this rampart was twenty miles long.

“ river

“ river should at any time break through the bank, the
 “ whole city would probably be drowned. They add,
 “ says he, that the same Menes, after he had diverted
 “ the course of the water, built the city, which to
 “ this day is called *Memphis*, within the ancient bed
 “ of the river. And indeed this place is situated in
 “ one of the narrowest streights of *Egypt*. That, *on*
 “ *the north and west side*, he caused a lake to be made
 “ without the walls from the river, which passes on
 “ the eastern part : and founded the magnificent and
 “ memorable temple of Vulcan in the same city.”
 Thus far Herodotus. Menes, though he is here mentioned by Herodotus as the first king of *Egypt*, was very far from being such, as I have shewed in the introduction to that treatise published a few years ago entitled *The chronology of the Hebrew bible vindicated &c.* but which should have been entitled *Observations on the Pentateuch of Moses, wherein the chronology &c.* He was indeed the first king of *Memphis*, and seems to have transferred the seat of empire from *Thebes* to *Memphis*. For Diodorus positively says, that *Memphis* was not built till eight generations after the building of *Thebes*; and that the rise of *Memphis* was the downfall of *Thebes*.

HOWEVER as Menes is here mentioned to have built *Memphis*, and at the same time to have caused a lake to be made on the north and west side of the walls of it, in my opinion nothing can be plainer than that, according to this description, the situation of

Memphis must have been on the south east corner of the lake [k] *Mæris*, and that this city stood between the lake of the river *Nile*, which ran upon the eastern side of it.

[l] STRABO speaking of *Memphis* says in one place that it was in the neighbourhood of the Pyramids, and in another place that *Memphis* was [m] forty stades distant from the Pyramids. But he does not say whether to the north or south of them, and therefore this, as [n] Doctor Shaw alledges, may prove the situation of *Memphis* to have been where *Geeza* is now. But this difficulty is cleared up by [o] Pliny, who wrote not long after Strabo, and positively says that the Pyramids are situated between *Memphis* and the *Delta*. Whence it follows of consequence, that *Memphis* was situated to the south of the Pyramids.

AND what adds greatly to the strength of what I have here advanced is the opinion of a very accurate and judicious writer, who was several times upon the spot, and joins with me in my sentiments herein. The person I mean is Monsieur Maillet, who was sixteen years consul for the French nation, and was more than once as high up in *Egypt* as the lake *Mæris*. And in

[k] This lake is called the lake *Maris*, because though it was begun by Menes it was finished by Mœris.

[l] Strabo, l. xvii.

[m] Or eight miles.

[n] Shaw's Trav. p. 340.

[o] Plin. nat. Hist. l. xxxvi. c. 16.

his

his seventh letter he declares positively, that there are at present such ruins to be seen on the borders of the lake *Mæris* at the southern entrance into the *Plain of mummies*, as are incontestable proofs that somewhere hereabouts must have been the situation of that capital of the Egyptian empire. He says moreover, that at the bottom of the lake there are to this day to be seen the ruins of pillars, obelisks, and buildings, when the overflowings of the *Nile* are not considerable enough to replenish the lake with water; which happened twice during the sixteen years of his consulate; but particularly in the year 1697, when the surface of this lake was five or six cubits lower than usual, and gave the spectators, to their great surprize, an opportunity of seeing the ruins of a vast city at the bottom of this immense reservoir.

WHICH agrees so exactly with the account given by Herodotus of the situation of *Memphis*, that it is almost impossible to be deceived in it. For he says, that Menes, by throwing up a rampart above *Memphis* of about a 100 stades in length, stretching towards the south dried up that part of the *Nile* which to his (Menes') time had passed by the foot of the mountain of sand in *Libya*. That this rampart was diligently preserved in his (Herodotus') time, and annually repaired by the Persians; because if the river should at any time break through the bank, the whole city would probably be drowned. Which we find by experience hath accordingly happened to a great part of that vast city,

city, either by the negligence of the inhabitants, or the wilful designs of their enemies. And indeed it is no otherwise to be accounted for, how it should come to pass that the situation of this great city should at present be disputable; and that there should be so few remains left above ground, even of the ruins of so immense a city, in a country remarkably famous for the happy disposition of its climate in the preservation of its antiquities.

THERE is also a remarkable circumstance attending the lake *Mæris*, which shews the situation of this city of *Memphis* to have been originally, as it is described by Herodotus, southward of the Pyramids and the *plain of Mummies*, or the burial place of the Egyptians. Which circumstance occurs to me from the name given to this lake, even to this day by the Arabians, and that is the *Birque* or lake of Charon. Because as it is acknowledged, that the *plain of Mummies*, or burying place of the ancient Egyptians, lies to the north of the lake *Mæris*, therefore in order for the corpses of the Egyptians to be brought by boat to this burial place, it is necessary they should come somewhere from the south. And as *Memphis* lay, according to Herodotus, on the south east corner of the lake *Mæris*, therefore it is more than probable that it was the custom of transporting the corpses of the ancient inhabitants of *Memphis* in Charon's ferry boat from *Memphis* to the *plain of Mummies*, which first gave occasion to this denomination being given to that lake,

as

as well as to the inventions of the Grecian poets with regard to a great part of the heathen mythology, as is positively asserted by Diodorus Siculus, who mentions it as an Egyptian custom of ancient date for persons to be appointed at every ones interment to examine their past lives: “ And that before the body was buried, the
 “ relations of the deceased gave notice both to the *judges*,
 “ and the friends of the deceased, of the day appointed
 “ for the interment, saying, that such a one, naming the
 “ deceased by his name, *is about to pass the lake*. Then
 “ the judges, to the number of forty, sitting in a place
 “ prepared for them in the form of a semicircle on the
 “ other side of the *lake*, the corps was brought over to
 “ them in a boat conducted by a person, who in the
 “ Egyptian tongue was called Charon; but before the
 “ corpse was suffered to be put into its coffin, every one
 “ was permitted to accuse the dead person. And if
 “ he was found to have lived a wicked life, the judges
 “ gave sentence that he should not be allowed to be
 “ buried. But if no accuser appeared, or the accuser
 “ was convicted of falsehood, then the friends of the
 “ deceased made a funeral oration in his favour, and
 “ put the corpse into its coffin, and carried it to the
 “ place of interment; but those who were condemned
 “ to be unworthy of sepulture, either on account of
 “ crimes or debts, were carried home again by their
 “ friends, and prohibited from being put even into a
 “ coffin. Which custom, says he, Orpheus having
 “ observed, he from thence framed the fables of the
 “ infer-

“infernal Deities.” And in the following chapter he particularly mentions *Memphis* as the place from whence Orpheus borrowed the scene of the lake *Acherusia*, and the Elysian fields: For, says he, “there are about “*Memphis* delightful fields and lakes filled with “*aromatick reeds*; and in this place it is that the “Egyptians for the most part bury their dead. And “it is these corpses which are brought over the lake “*Acherusia* to the burying place of the Egyptians, and “are there deposited, that gave rise to all those fictions “which the Grecians have raised concerning the infernal Deities.” Where it is to be observed, that these *aromatick reeds*, with which this lake and the adjoining lands abound, are in the original called Ἀχερώεις, *Acheroëis*, and therefore it is probable that this lake was from thence denominated Ἀχερυσία λίμνη, the *Acherusian lake*, which also shews the absurdity of all those derivations of the word *Acheron*, that are to be found in the Greek Lexicons. And probably these *Acheroëis* are the same with those *sweet scented reeds*, or *kanes* as they are called in the Hebrew, which are mentioned Exod. xxx. 23. and Jer. vi. 20. that were made use of by the Israelites in the composition of their perfumes; and are spoken of as being brought from a far country.

THIS however is manifest from what is before said, that the lake *Mæris* or the *Acherusian lake* or the *Birque of Charon*, bordered on the city of *Memphis* and

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and lay between that city and the *plain of mummies*, or the burying place of the Egyptians.

As to the time when this practice was first instituted, Diodorus seems to be of opinion, that it was introduced by Menes, a prince, as he says, of great wisdom and virtue, and who first taught the Egyptians to worship the Gods. And as Herodotus mentions Menes to be the person who founded *Memphis*, it is not improbable that he might at the same time have been the author of this custom. Certain it is, that the Egyptians from the most early times paid a great veneration to sepulchral rites, as is manifest from the history of Jacob, and the skill the Egyptians shewed, and the expence they were then at, in burying their dead. The denial therefore of these rites, being looked upon by them as a grievous punishment, might, as it probably was, be easily made use of by Menes as a wise piece of state policy.

BUT as to the time when this custom was first left off or intermitted in *Egypt*, that does not so positively appear; and therefore we must have recourse to conjectures. It is plain from Diodorus, that it was in practice in the time of Orpheus, who being an Argonaut lived one generation before the war of *Troy*; and probably continued till the time of Cheops king of *Egypt*, who lived two generations after the Trojan war. For the war of *Troy* happened when [*p*] Proteus reigned in *Memphis*, and Thonis was governor under him of the Canopic mouth

[*p*] Herod. l. ii. Hom. Odyss. l. iv.

H

of

of the Nile: Proteus was succeeded by Rampfinitus, and Rampfinitus by Cheops. Now Herodotus says, that the priests told him, that to the reign of Rampfinitus justice and good order were preserved in *Egypt*, and that the kingdom flourished in plenty; but that Cheops, who succeeded, was a most flagitious tyrant. For after he had shut up all the temples, and forbidden the public sacrifices, he oppressed the Egyptians with hard labour &c.

Now if we suppose these forty judges to have been priests, as, according to the supposition of [q] Mr. Warburton, it is more than probable they were; and that they had stretched their authority by degrees so far beyond its original institution as to render it necessary for the prince to interpose and to abolish this court of judicature in *Memphis*; there will then be a ready solution for all those abuses and invectives with which the memory of Cheops was loaded by the priests.

AND that this was really the case, is very likely, because Herodotus says, that Cheops spent ten years in building a bridge five stades (or a mile) in length, or sixty feet broad, and in the highest part forty-eight feet in altitude. Herodotus does not say where this bridge was built, but as Herodotus mentions that Menes, when he built *Memphis*, caused a lake to be made

[q] See the ingenious dissertation of Mr. Warburton on the sixth book of Virgil's *Æneid*, in the first vol. of his *Divine legation of Moses*.

on the north and west side without the walls from the river, which passed on the eastern part, it is plain that *Memphis* was surrounded on three sides by water. And as the *Plain of the mummies* undoubtedly lay northward of the lake, the inhabitants of *Memphis* were obliged to pass this lake of Charon in order to bury their dead. I suppose therefore it was over this part of the lake, which separated *Memphis* from the *Plain of mummies*, that Cheops built his bridge when he demolished the court of inquisition which was held by the priests; and by that means rendered Charon's ferry boat entirely useless. For I think it is hardly possible for a bridge in that early age of the world to have been built over the main stream of the *Nile*; considering the violence of its inundations, and therefore I suppose that part of the *Acherusian lake* which lay northward of *Memphis* to have been only a sort of canal, contrived for the better carrying off the inundations of the *Nile* out of this lake, over which Cheops built this bridge for the convenience of the inhabitants of *Memphis*.

THESE however are only conjectures, and indeed all authors that have ever written concerning the early ages of the kingdom of *Egypt* complain of the want of materials [r]. Sir Isaac Newton observes that all the histories of the several kingdoms of the world may justly

[r] Newt. Chron. p. 7.

be looked upon as fabulous, till about fourscore or an hundred years before the practice of literary writing in those several countries; and as there is no account of any transactions in *Egypt* which can be depended upon till about that period of time before the reign of Sesostris; so I conclude of course, that the art of literary writing was not known in *Egypt* till about that time. For Herodotus, who is the only prophane author who can with any certainty be relied on with regard to ancient *Egypt*, goes no further back than the translation of the Egyptian empire to *Memphis* by Menes, about three generations before Sesostris. And says that, before that time, the priests informed him that *Egypt* was governed by the Gods. And it may be taken for granted that, when any nation or people are referred to the Gods for their history, the people of that nation were at that time ignorant of the art of literary writing.

WHEN the art of literary writing first began I cannot say positively, but certain it is that we have not the least traces of it before the time of Moses. But after the delivery of the law upon *Mount Sinai*, and the Israelites were [s] ordered to write some of the words of the law on the posts of their doors, and on their gates, every one who had the least genius would endeavour to learn and practice the art of literary writing. And accordingly we find, from the aforemen-

[s] Deut. vi. 9. 11, 20.

tioned

tioned journal, that in the wilderness of *Kadesh*, where soon after the giving of the law the children of *Israel* wandered for forty years, there are whole mountains which are engraved with inexpressible labour, with characters at present unknown, but which, there is great reason to suspect, were the ancient Hebrew characters, which being lost by disuse during the Babylonish captivity, were supplied by the Chaldee characters in their stead.

AND as [t] Joshua was ordered to write the words of the law upon large stones on *Mount Ebal*, as soon as he had passed over *Jordan*, which he accordingly did, literary writing must from thence become tolerably well known to the Canaanites as well as the Israelites. Hence it was that Cadmus who was a Canaanite, or, as Herodotus asserts, a Tyrian, which is the same thing, might also learn the art of literary writing, since it was not till some years after the passage over *Jordan* that Joshua was able to dispossess the Canaanites, and drive them out of the land by a total overthrow of their forces [u] *at the waters of Merom*, where the Lord delivered them into the hand of Israel, who smote them, and chased them unto great Sidon. From which place, or from Tyre, it probably was that Cadmus with the rest of their defeated companions took shipping, and fled into Greece, and carried with them the art of literary writing. And hence it is that the

[t] Deut. xxiii. 7. Josh. viii. 30.

[u] Josh. xi. 7, 8.

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Phœnicians are said by Lucan to have been the inventors of literary writing.

*Phœnices primi, famæ si credimus, ausi
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.*

Luc. l. iii.

FOR that the Cadmonites were one of those colonies which were dispossessed of their habitations by Joshua is plain from hence; because they are particularly specified in the promise made by God to Abraham when he made a covenant with him to give him the land of *Canaan* for a possession, saying, [*x*] *unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates. The Kenites, and the Kenizzites, and the CADMONITES, and the Hitrites.*

DIODORUS [*y*] accordingly says, that Cadmus, who was the head of this tribe brought the art of literary writing from *Phœnicia* into *Greece*, wherefore those letters, says he, are called Phœnician. And in another [*z*] place, he says, that Cadmus came to *Rhodes*, and brought with him the Phœnician letters. Where was found an ancient vase with this inscription, that *Rhodes* was about to be destroyed by *serpents*: That is, by the Hevites, who were his countrymen and accompanied Cadmus from *Phœnicia* into *Greece*; the word *Heva* in Hebrew signifying a *serpent*.

[*x*] Gen. xv. 18, 19.
[*z*] Diod. l. v. c. 13.

[*y*] Diod. l. ii. c. 5.

AND

AND indeed if we consider the whole story of Cadmus, as related by the Grecian historians, whose wife's name is said to be Hermione, and that he raised soldiers by sowing of serpents teeth, it will add a strong confirmation to this opinion, that Cadmus was one of those Phœnicians, who were driven out of *Canaan* by Joshua, when he pursued them to great *Sidon*. For when Joshua numbered the hosts, which came out against him to battle in the land of *Canaan*, he reckons up amongst them, [*a*] *the Hevite under Hermon*. And now let us but suppose, that Cadmus, the head of the Cadmonites, was married to the daughter of his unfortunate neighbour and ally the king of *Hermon*, whose subjects were called Hevites; and who being driven from their country by Joshua were forced to fly into *Greece*, and there is an easy solution of this mythological story of the Grecian Cadmus. For as the denomination or name, which was given to the daughter of the king of *Hermon*, might probably be Hermione, and as the word Hevite, which was the appellation of the subjects of the king of *Hermon*, denotes in Hebrew, *one sprung from a serpent*; so the Grecians made use of the double signification of this word to graft upon it their fable of Cadmus the husband of Hermione having raised soldiers by sowing of serpents teeth.

WE have therefore no reason to rely upon any of the histories which relate even to *Greece* before this period, that is above fourscore years before the intro-

[*a*] Josh. xi. 2.

duction of letters among them by Cadmus; but much less to rely upon any of the traditionary reports relating to *Egypt*, as the art of literary writing does not seem to have been introduced there so soon as into *Greece*.

AND though it appears that the art of literary writing was known in *Egypt* in the time of Sesostris [b], from the inscriptions which he left behind him in the lands he had conquered; yet is it more than probable, that the knowledge of this art was entirely confined to the priesthood, whence it is that Herodotus, calls those characters, in which the inscriptions of Sesostris were written, *the sacred letters of Egypt*.

IT may then be asked, how comes it that we have so little knowledge of the affairs of *Egypt* even from the times of Sesostris? The reason of it is, that the few records which were in *Egypt* were destroyed by Cambyfes about an hundred years before the time of Herodotus; and yet in this short time, as Sir Isaac Newton observes, “ the priests of *Egypt* had so magnified their antiquities before the days of Herodotus, as to tell him that from Menes to Mæris there were three hundred and thirty kings, whose reigns took up as many ages, that is, eleven thousand years, and had filled up the interval with feigned names who had done nothing.” That is, who had performed no memorable action, except it be the silly

[b] Herodotus, l. ii.

story of Nitocris, the only woman among them, and indeed the only woman who is mentioned to have reigned in *Egypt*. For as that empire was not hereditary, but elective, they never chose queens for the head of their empire, but always chose their kings either out of the priesthood or out of the army.

WE have therefore still less reason to depend upon the reports of later writers than Herodotus with regard to *Egypt*, such as Manetho and Eratosthenes, when they mention any transactions preceding the times of Sesostris, who, being the Shesac mentioned in the Scriptures, was contemporary with Rehoboam king of *Judah*, about A. M. 2973. For when we consider the natural fondness and vanity of all mankind to derive themselves from early antiquity, and recollect that there were in several parts of *Egypt* several contemporary princes existing at the same time, we must be sensible that it was an easy matter for any of the priests, who seem to have been the only historians of those days in *Egypt*, to carry down the antiquity of *Egypt* to many thousands of generations, only by reckoning the names of the contemporary princes, as being so many successors to each other. And indeed it is no easy matter for any historian in general to avoid falling into this error, if he hath no written accounts, but merely the tradition of the country to depend upon. Which is the only excuse that can be alledged in favour of Diodorus, who is generally in the wrong whenever he differs from Herodotus; the list of imaginary kings being

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greatly

greatly encreased by the priests between the days of Herodotus and Diodorus; for, as Sir Isaac Newton observes, after Cambyfes carried away the records of *Egypt*, the priests were daily feigning new kings.

[c] HERODOTUS, when speaking of those Grecians who had helped to set Psammitichus upon the throne of *Egypt*, says that “ the Ionians and Carians continued for a long time to inhabit those parts which lie near the sea, below the city of *Bubastis*, in the Peleusian branch of the river *Nile*; till, in succeeding times, Amasis king of *Egypt* caused them to abandon their habitations, and settle at *Memphis*, to defend him against the Egyptians. But from the time of their establishment, says he, they had so constant a communication with the Grecians, that one may justly say, we certainly know all things that passed in *Egypt* since the reign of Psammitichus to our age.” Now Psammitichus the father of Pharaoh Necho, who is often mentioned in the Scriptures, died, according to Dr. Prideaux, in the twenty fourth year of Josiah king of *Judah*, after a reign of fifty four years, that is, about A.M. 3331. of the Jul. period, 4097. and 617 years before Christ.

IN our enquiries therefore into the history, or worship of ancient *Egypt*, we ought carefully to distinguish between the customs of the ancient aborigines Egyp-

[c] Diod. l. ii.

tians,

tians, and of those Egyptians who were afterwards born from a mixture of Grecian or Phœnician ancestors. For want of which distinction Diodorus and from him the great Sir Isaac Newton have been strangely misled, and have confounded the history of *Egypt* with the mythological fables of *Greece*.

WE have already seen, that it was the situation of *Memphis* and the custom of the Egyptians in burying their dead, by carrying them to the *Plain of mummies* in Charon's ferry boat cross the *Acherusian* lake, which first gave origin to the Grecian fiction of the Elysian fields, with the infernal judges Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Æacus &c. And Herodotus is very positive that it was Hesiod and Homer, who lived but about 400 years before him, that first regulated the system of the Grecian theology, assigned names to the several gods and allotted them their several employments. Mr. Shuckford has however undertaken to give us their real history; and in the first volume of his *Connection* supposes from Syncellus and Manetho, that the eight demigods, and fifteen heroes of the Egyptian dynasties before Menes, were real persons living in *Egypt* before the flood. For [d], says he, Manetho rightly conjectures them to be antediluvians. But, if they were such, how Manetho or any one else could come by their history is a secret he has not let us into. And these eight demigods, he says from Diodorus, were Sol,

[d] Shuckf. Con. vol. i. p. 21.

Saturnus, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Vulcanus, Vesta and Mercurius. Whereas Herodotus declares that Juno and Vesta were names utterly unknown in *Egypt*. And in the third vol. of his *Connection* Mr. Shuckford gives us the memoirs of the life of Jupiter, and supposeth him to have lived in *Greece* from about the time of Moses to within three or four centuries of the Trojan war. The principal scene of his activity he seems to place about seven or eight generations before the war of *Troy*, and gives him a most numerous progeny. And because most of the kingdoms in *Greece* derived the origin of their state at about the distance of seven or eight generations of descent from Jupiter, he therefore concludes that Jupiter lived about the time of Moses. Whereas the true conclusion to be deduced from thence is this, not that Jupiter lived, but that the use of letters was not known in *Greece* till about seven or eight generations of descent before the war of *Troy*, about which time Moses lived and a little after which Cadmus first introduced them into *Greece*. For [e] Cadmus was father to Polydorus, the father of Labdacus, the father of Laius, the father of OEdipus, the father of Polynices, the father of Thyrsander who was one of the warriors at the siege of *Troy*. And accordingly [f] Diodorus observes, that Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, was the last of mortals with whom Jupiter had any intrigues; so that it is to

[e] Apollod. l. iii.

[f] Diod. l. iv. c. 2.

be presumed that, as before that time, when the Grecians were at a loss for the genealogy of their kings or princes, they fathered them upon Jupiter, so now the introduction of letters put an end to his amours. And therefore it is more than probable, that there never was any such real person in *Greece* as Jupiter, any more than there were such real persons in *Phœnicia* or *Assyria* or *Egypt* as Cronus, Uranus, or Tellus. Whereas [g] Mr. Shuckford collects from Diodorus and Apollodorus, that Cronus was the son of Uranus, and that from Uranus and Tythæa, or Tellus, were also born the Centimani and the Cyclops, whom their father Uranus sent to inhabit the land of *Tartarus*: What or where that country was, which was thus named, he says, may be difficult to determine, but gravely concludes he should imagine it to be no part of *Crete*.

Now if we look into the description of Cronus, which is given by Sanchoniatho, it will plainly convince us, that the representation was not taken from any real person, but the design of it was only to give us a symbolical description of *Time*, as the name properly imports. For he is described with four eyes, two before and two behind, two of which were always shut, and two were always open; to denote that Time has a reference to what is past as well as to what is to come; and that Time is always upon the watch, even when it seems to be at rest. He was also delineated with four

[g] Shuckf. Con. vol. i. p. 204. vol. ii. p. 300.

wings, two of which were stretched out as in the action of flight, and two were contracted as in repose, to denote that Time, even when seemingly stationed, passeth on, and when flying is yet seemingly stationed. Cronus is likewise by Sanchoniatho said to have dispatched his son with his own hand, and to have cut off the head of his own daughter &c. Which is only a metaphorical account of Time's destroying his own produce. For thus [b] Cicero speaking of the real opinion which the ancients had of Cronus, saith, *Saturnum autem eum esse voluerunt, qui cursum et conversionem spatiorum ac temporum contineret, qui deus Græce id ipsum nomen habet: Κρόνος enim dicitur, qui est idem Χρόνος, id est, Spatium temporis. Saturnus autem est appellatus, quod saturetur annis. Ex se enim natos cominasse fingitur solitus, quia consumit ætas temporum spatia, annisque præteritis insaturabiliter expletur.*

[i] MR. SHUCKFORD also gives us an history of the court of Jupiter upon earth, and supposes Neptune and Pluto to be his brothers, Juno his wife, Vesta and Ceres his sisters; Vulcan, Mars, Apollo, Diana, Mercury, Venus, and Minerva his children; and imagines them all to have been deified after their death, on account of their having so wisely established the government of Crete. But I cannot conceive how he will be able to reconcile this with the eight demigods of Mane-

[b] Cicero De nat. Deor. l. ii. 25.
p. 30.

[i] Shuckf. Con. vol. iii.

tho, among whom are Jupiter, Juno, Vulcan, Vesta and Mercury, supposed by him to have reigned in *Egypt* before the flood; and who, he positively asserts in [k] another place, *certainly lived before the flood*. And [l] again speaking of the same deities, he says, the truth is *they were their antediluvian ancestors*.

WHEREAS the truth is, they were their postdiluvian ancestors, some of which were of Egyptian, and some of Phœnician, and some of Grecian origin. The two latter were they who introduced into *Egypt* the custom of worshipping Gods in the form and figure of men. As appears manifestly even from the famous god Vulcan, to whom a temple was erected by Menes in *Memphis*. For it appears from the very form of the statue, as described by Herodotus, that this was one of the *Dii Pataci* of the Phœnicians, being, as he says, like those Phœnician figures which are placed in the prows of their ships, and called Παταῖοι, not exceeding the figure of a pigmy. And in another place he says, that that quarter of the city of *Memphis*, where the temple of Vulcan stood, was inhabited by Phœnicians from *Tyre*; and that all that region was called the *Tyrian camp*. Herodotus mentions also a temple built to Perseus in the city of *Chemis* in the province of *Thebes*, but at the same time says, that gymnastic exercises were there instituted entirely agreeing with those used in *Greece*; which plainly shews the

[k] Shuckf. Con. vol. ii. p. 286.

[l] Id. ibid. p. 288.

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origin of that temple and worship to have been Grecian.

WHENCE it appears, in considering the antiquities of *Egypt*, how necessary it is to distinguish between the customs and inscriptions and deities of the original Egyptians, that is, of those who were the aborigines of the country, and those customs, inscriptions, or deities, which were introduced afterwards by the Phœnicians or Grecians, who came in latter ages to inhabit there; though they are all equally called Egyptian. Otherwise we shall not be able to reconcile many seeming difficulties, as well in Herodotus as in latter writers. Thus for instance [*m*] Herodotus affirms that the custom of predicting future events was derived from the Egyptians. And the account he gives of it is this: That the priests of the Theban Jupiter told him, that two priestesses were carried out of that country by certain Phœnicians, who afterwards, as they were informed, sold one in *Libya*, and the other in *Greece*, from which priestesses the people of those countries learned the art of divination. Whereas when he is describing the customs of the aborigines Egyptians, he positively says [*n*], that no woman may be a priest of any god or goddess; *Men only being employed in that office.*

WHENCE it is manifest, that those priestesses who officiated at *Thebes* in *Egypt* must have been born from

[*m*] Herod. l. ii.

[*n*] Id. ibid.

Phœni-

Phœnician parents, and must have been employed in some Phœnician temple in that city which was dedicated to some Phœnician, but not truly Egyptian, deity. In like manner, when [o] Herodotus says, that the names of almost all the Grecian gods were originally derived from the Egyptians, and speaks of Hercules, Mars, Bacchus, &c. as being ancient Egyptian deities, we are not to understand them as being the deities belonging to the ancient aborigines Egyptians, but only those latter Egyptians who were sprung from a mixed breed of Grecians or Phœnicians that had come to live in *Egypt*. Because, speaking of the aborigines Egyptians, [p] Herodotus positively says, that *they never paid divine honours to heroes*.

THE idols belonging to the aborigines Egyptians were birds, and beasts, and fish, and plants &c. which the Phœnicians and Grecians, when they came to inhabit *Egypt*, improved by adding a man's head or body to the head or body of a beast, or a bird, or the tail of a fish; and from thence formed those motly deities which were in latter times worshiped by the Egyptians.

OF which kind was the famous Dagon of the Phœnicians, mentioned 1 Sam. v. 3, 4. Where it is observed that *When the Philistines brought the ark into the house of DAGON, behold, DAGON was fallen upon his face to the earth, before the ark of the Lord; and they*

[o] Id. ibid.

[p] Herod. 1. ii.

took DAGON, and set him in his place again. And when they arose early on the morrow morning, behold, DAGON was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord. And the head of DAGON, and both the palms of his hands, were cut off upon the threshold, only the stump of DAGON was left to him. Which stump may be conjectured to have been in the shape of a fishes tail, because the Hebrew word imports as much, being derived from the דָּג DAG, *Piscis*, a fish, and because there is no mention made of his feet. And what confirms this remark is, that Cicero takes notice that the Syrians worshiped a fish; for says he, in his third book *De natura Deorum*, *Pisces Syri venerantur; omne fere genus bestiarum Ægyptii consecraverunt*. Which deity was also probably the same with that mentioned by [q] Diodorus, who calls it Dercetis, which he says had the face of a man, but the rest of the body was a fish; and that this idol was worshiped at *Ascalon* in *Syria*; and it is to be remarked, that *Ascalon* was in that part of *Syria*, which was inhabited by the Philistines.

THE Grecians were a people of a lively imagination, and readily took any traditionary hint, that was given them by the Egyptians, and improved it into a regular fable; of which there is a remarkable instance in the story which is told by Diodorus and Plutarch of the birth of the five gods, when “ Rhea being with

[f] Diod. l. ii. c. 2.

“ child

“ child by Saturn was discovered by the Sun, who,
 “ upon finding out her baseness, laid a curse upon her,
 “ that she should not be delivered in any month or
 “ year: that Mercury being in love with the goddess
 “ lay with her also; and then play’d at dice with the
 “ Moon, and won from her the seventy second part of
 “ each day, and made up of these winnings five days,
 “ which he added to the year, making the year to con-
 “ sist of 365 days, which before consisted of 360 days
 “ only; and that in these days Rhea brought forth
 “ five children, Osiris, Orus, Typho, Isis, and Nepthe.”

IT is a dispute between Mr. Warburton and Mr. Shuckford whether these five personages were deified before the invention of this mythological story; they both agree indeed that this story could not have been invented before the addition was made of the five days to the year; which they both likewise allow to have been about A. M. 2665, a little after the death of Joshua: But which, according to [r] Sir Isaac Newton, is much more truly computed to have been about “ 137 years before the æra of Nabonassar began, in “ the year of the Julian period 3830, or 96 years “ after the death of Solomon,” which corresponds with A. M. 3066. But Mr. Shuckford supposes this fable invented in order to celebrate the deification of these five deities: Whereas [s] Mr. Warburton much

[r] Newt. Chron. p. 81.
 p. 189.

[s] Div. Leg. vol. ii. part i.

more reasonably supposes this fable invented to celebrate the addition of the five days to the year.

THALES, who flourished about A. M. 3336, was the [t] first that corrected the Greek year, and endeavoured to settle the Grecian year according to the computation of 365 days which he had learned in *Egypt*. If we therefore suppose that he brought over with him the names of these five gods from *Egypt* into *Greece*; it is probable that this fable was invented in *Greece* to celebrate the addition of the five days then made to the year, when it was first published in *Greece*, and that the author took the advantage of the names of five new Gods which Thales had also lately brought out of *Egypt*.

BUT [u] Mr. Shuckford says, *Had Osiris, Orus, Typho, Isis and Nepthe been esteemed deities before this additional length of the year was apprehended, we should not have had this, but some other fabulous account of their birth transmitted to us.* And have we not other fabulous accounts of their birth? As for example, is not Orus much more universally said to be the son of Osiris, than his brother? And is not Nepthe or Venus said to be born or produced out of the foam of the sea? Whereas it is more than probable, her real history was, that she came by sea into *Greece*, and that no one there was acquainted with her parentage, it being usual

[t] Dier. Laer. in vita Thaletis.
p. 284.

[u] Shuckf. Con. vol. ii.

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for women, when they became prostitutes, to quit their own home and friends, and to go into a foreign country in quest of a livelyhood, where they would be no shame to their relations. And hence it is, that at the time of the Judges and of Solomon a prostitute in *Israel* was generally distinguished by the name of [x] *the strange woman*. Thus Jephthah is Judg. xi. 1. called the *son of a harlot*, and in the following verse the *son of a strange woman*, as terms equivalent the one to the other. In like manner at *Athens*, in the time of Terence, a *strange woman* and a *harlot* were convertible terms, and therefore Chremes to heighten the crime of Pamphilus says, [y] *pro uxore habere hanc peregrinam!* So Thais, in the *Eunuch* [z], having been assured by Parmeno that he could contain any secret he heard, provided it was a truth; but if it was not, out it would fly; begins her narrative by saying, her mother was a native of *Samos*, but took up her residence at *Rhodes*. He with a sneer replies, This will keep. Intimating that by her deserting her country, we might judge of her profession.

AND indeed the whole history of the heathen Gods as worshiped in human shapes, whether Grecian or Egyptian, seems to me to be entirely owing to the inventive faculty of the Greeks, who laid hold of any remarkable event, or traditionary hint, to found their fables upon, and by the help of a fruitful genius,

[x] See 1 Kings xi. 3. Prov. ii. 16. &c.
Act i. Sc. i. 119.

[y] Ter. Andria,

[z] Act. i. Sc. ii.

sometimes mixing allegorical truths, and sometimes traditional matters of fact, with their imaginary fictions, have thereby furnished us with that mythological history of the heathen Gods which is come to our hands. And as *Egypt* was the country which in the early days of *Greece* was famous for learning, and to which of consequence the ancient Grecian bards travelled for improvement, many of the historical traditions and mythological stories of their Gods, were originally brought by the Greeks from hence.

WE have already seen that Orpheus brought from thence the whole foundation of the history of the Elysian fields; and Tzetzes the scholiast is of opinion that the contest of Jupiter with the giants, as it is beautifully related in the true spirit of poetry by Hesiod, is only an allegory borrowed from some conflict of the elements one with another; and therefore owes its origin to some tradition concerning the deluge, which tradition seems also to have been borrowed from the Egyptians; because it was immediately after this conflict, according to Hesiod, that the reign of Jupiter is said to have begun; that is, the reign of Ham the son of Noah who was undoubtedly the first king in *Egypt* after the flood, and from whom that region was called *the land of Ham*.

FOR says Hesiod, as soon as the gods had gained the victory over the Titans, then they proclaimed Jupiter. And as it was not till after this victory that, according
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to Hefiod, he either begat Minerva, or the Graces, or Proferpina, or the Mufes, or Apollo, &c. fo is it remarkable, that Ham, though an hundred years of age at the time of the flood, is not faid to have had any children till after that event; and that fome of the tranfactions of Jupiter owe their origin to the traditio- nary-hiftories of the life of Ham is, I think, beyond all doubt; of which the very names of Ζεύς and of Jupiter, which is but a Latin contraction of the Greek words Ζεύς-πατήρ, feem to me to be a fufficient, and very extraordinary proof. For as the word *ham* or *cham* in Hebrew fignifies *hot*, fo the Greek word Ζεύς is manifefly derived from the Greek verb Ζέω *ferveo*, which fignifies *to be hot*. And therefore even among the Greeks Jupiter is fometimes diftinguifhed by the name of Jupiter Ammon, which is as much as to fay, the Ham Jupiter; for that Ammon and Ham were only different names, fignificant of one and the fame perfon, appears by comparing Deut. xiv. 5. and 1 Chron. iv. 40. with Deut. ii. 20. where thofe per- fons, who are called *the fons of Ham* in one place, are called Ammonites in the other.

WHICH Jupiter Ammon was represented by the Greeks under the figure of a man with a ram's head, or at leaft with ram's horns upon his head; a further proof of this Jupiter being of Egyptian ex- traction. For as I obferved before, from Herodotus and Strabo and Cicero, that the aborigines Egyptians

never

never worshiped any human figures, but had in their temples the images of birds, or beasts, or fishes, or plants; so, on the other hand, the Greeks and Romans ridiculed this worship of beasts, though they worshiped the images of men. When therefore the Grecians borrowed any of their gods from the Egyptians, they by degrees transformed them into half man and half beast, and lastly into an entire man, only with some small distinguishing mark of the beast, such as that of the horn &c. still remaining behind.

It seems indeed very odd, that so learned and sensible a people as the Egyptians could run into so absurd a custom as that of worshiping the brutal part of the creation. The sun, the moon, and the stars seem naturally to strike us with something venerable in their appearance; but the worship of the Egyptians was not only confined to that species of beasts which were either beautiful in themselves, or beneficial to mankind, but was lavished away on those also which were dreadful to the aspect and prejudicial to mankind; as the hippopotamus, the crocodile, the serpent, &c. Which shews that conjecture mentioned by Diodorus and Sir Isaac Newton, that the worship of beasts took its rise from their use to mankind, to be without foundation. Nor can it have arisen from that other conjecture, mentioned also by Diodorus, of the first heroes wearing these images as ensigns in their armies, or crests on their helmets, when they went out to battle; under the
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the imaginary influence of which when they had succeeded in their enterprizes, they then deified them; for had this been the reason, then none but the fiercer and more noble part of the brute creation would have been deified, and not the timorous and the fearful, such as the ichneumon, the sheep, and the hen; since I do not apprehend, that any warrior would ever choose to wear such creatures as a crest on his helmet, or carry them for an ensign; at least not till after they had been deified. And yet Herodotus observes, that, though *Egypt* abounds with variety of beasts, all of them, both wild and tame, are accounted sacred.

HERODOTUS when treating upon this subject seems to speak very warily, as if he was afraid to give offence to the priesthood; and makes an apology for not informing the reader, with the reasons of this reverence paid by the Egyptians to these beastly objects of their worship, and says, [z] “ But if I should take upon me
“ to give the reasons of this opinion, I must enter into
“ a long discourse of divine things, which I avoid with
“ all possible care, having hitherto said nothing of that
“ kind, unless in a transitory manner, and compelled
“ by the force of necessity”.

HOWEVER [a] Diodorus, Ovid, and Lucian are less squeamish; for they all tell us the current tradition

[z] Herod. l. ii.

[a] Diod. l. i. Ovid. Met. l. v. Fab. 5.

of their days, which was, that, in the wars between the gods and giants, the former for safety fled into *Egypt*, where they assumed the bodies of beasts and birds, which they ever afterwards retained, and were accordingly revered upon this account. The origin of which fable, it is manifest, was of later date than the time of Hesiod, because he takes no notice of it; for notwithstanding all the force and fury of the giants, which he so beautifully describes, he makes the gods all along successful, and at length, totally overcoming the giants, to cast them into Tartarus. This fiction therefore seems to have been invented by some Grecian poet, as a kind of apology for the brute worship of the Egyptians, many ages after it had been publicly established. And therefore this kind of worship is only to be accounted for in the manner which [b] Strabo does, by asserting that the Egyptian temples had no images in them, that is, none of human form; but only the image of some animal, which emblematically represented the object of their worship.

MR. WARBURTON [c] says, that hieroglyphics were the great source of the most abominable idolatries and superstitions. In accounting for which he says, “for these characters being become, in a proper sense, “*sacred*, it disposed the more superstitious to engrave them on gems, and wear them as amulets and

[b] Strabo l. xvii.

[c] Div. Leg. vol. ii. p. 1. p. 140, 153.

“ charms,

“ charms. But this *magical* abuse seems not to have
 “ been much earlier than the established worship of
 “ the god Serapis; which happened under the Pto-
 “ lemie’s.”

SIR ISAAC NEWTON [*d*] speaking of the time of
 Cambyfes saith, “ In those days the writing of the
 “ Thebans and Æthiopians was in hieroglyphics; and
 “ this way of writing seems to have spread into the
 “ lower *Egypt* before the days of Moses: for thence
 “ came the worship of their gods in the various shapes
 “ of birds, beasts, and fishes, forbidden in the second
 “ commandment. Now this emblematical way of
 “ writing gave occasion to the Thebans and Æthio-
 “ pians, who in the days of Samuel, David, Solo-
 “ mon, and Rehoboam, conquered *Egypt* and the
 “ nations round about, and erected a great empire,
 “ to represent and signify their conquering kings and
 “ princes, not by writing down their names, but by
 “ making various hieroglyphical figures; as by paint-
 “ ing Ammon with ram’s horns, to signify a king
 “ who conquered *Libya*, a country abounding with
 “ sheep; his father Amosis with a scythe, to signify
 “ that king who conquered the lower *Egypt*, a coun-
 “ try abounding with corn; his son Osiris by an ox,
 “ because he taught the conquered nations to plow
 “ with oxen; Bacchus with bull’s horns, for the same

[*d*] Newt. Chron. p. 225.

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“ reason; and with grapes, because he taught the na-
 “ tions to plant vines; and upon a tiger, because he
 “ subdued *India*; Orus the son of Osiris with a harp,
 “ to signify the prince who was eminently skilled on
 “ that instrument; Jupiter upon an eagle, to signify
 “ the sublimity of his dominion, and with a thunder-
 “ bolt, to represent him a warrior; Venus in a chariot
 “ drawn by doves, to represent her amorous and lust-
 “ ful; Neptune with a trident, to signify the command-
 “ er of a fleet, composed of three squadrons; Ægæ-
 “ on a giant with 50 heads and an hundred hands, to
 “ signify Neptune with his men in a ship of 50 oars;
 “ Thoth with a dog’s head, and wings at his cap and
 “ feet, and a caduceus writhed about with two ser-
 “ pents, to signify a man of craft, and an embassador
 “ who reconciled two contending nations; Pan with
 “ a pipe and the legs of a goat, to signify a man de-
 “ lighted with piping and dancing; and Hercules
 “ with pillars and a club, because Sesostris set up pil-
 “ lars in all his conquests, and fought against the Li-
 “ byans with clubs.—Now from this hieroglyphical
 “ way of writing it came to pass, that, upon the divi-
 “ sion of *Egypt* into nomes by Sesostris, the great
 “ men of the kingdom, to whom the nomes were de-
 “ dicated, were represented in their sepulchres or temples
 “ of the nomes, by various hieroglyphics; as by an
 “ ox, a cat, a dog, a cebus, a goat, a lion, a scarabæus,
 “ an ichneumon, a crocodile, an hippopotamus, an oxyrin-
 “ chus, an ibis, a crow, a hawk, a leek; and were wor-

“shaped by the nomes in the shapes of these creatures.”

I cannot say that both or either of these authors are entirely in the wrong about what they assert, further than that they are not early enough in the date of the origin of the superstitious practices mentioned by them. Mr. Warburton refers the date of the *magical* use of *amulets* and *charms* to the age of the Ptolemies; about which time, though the magical use of amulets might have encreased and grown more general than formerly; yet it seems to me to have been practiced in the much earlier ages of the world.

CERTAIN it is, that the art of divination and magical inventions of many kinds were practiced in *Egypt* and the land of *Canaan*, not only in the [f] times of Moses, but long before. About the age of Joseph, there seems to have been public [g] professors of the art magic which were sent for by Pharaoh to interpret his dream. It is also more than probable that, even so far back as the days of Jacob, the Teraphim which Rachael stole from her father Laban, were little [h] images, which were made use of for magical purposes.

[f] See Deut. xviii. 10.

[g] See Gen. xli. 8.

[h] See dissertation on this subject in the bishop of Clogher's treatise entitled the Chron. of the Hebrew Bible vindicated p. 157, &c.

AND with regard to amulets and charms, it seems manifest that those ear-rings belonging to the Shechemites, which Jacob buried along with their [i] *strange gods, under the oak which was at Shechem*, were of that kind; there being no other reason to be assigned why they were buried there along with the strange gods, but their having been dedicated to idolatrous uses. And therefore they seem to have been in the nature of those *frontlets*, which the heathens wore *between their eyes*, with certain words engraved upon them for magical purposes. And probably consisted of two ear-rings united together by a broad plate of gold, which crossed over the forehead. Because, when Abraham's servant, who was sent to look for a wife for his son Isaac, found Rebecca, it is said that [k] *he took an ear-ring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight of gold; and he put the ear-ring on her face, and the bracelets on her hands*. Where it is to be observed, that the ear-ring is not spoken of as being two separate ornaments, as the bracelets were, but as one continued ornament, and therefore it is not said that he put them in her ears, but that *he put it on her face*; the two jewels that were to adorn her ears being united together by a plate of gold which crossed over her face, and served as a *frontlet between her eyes*.

[i] Gen. xxxv. 2, 3.

[k] Gen. xxiv. 22. 47.

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IT seems therefore to be on account of this practice of amulets and charms which were engraved on earrings and bracelets, that the children of *Israel*, instead of those *charms* which were worn by the idolaters for the averting of evil, were ordered to take the words of the law of God, [1] and *bind them for a sign upon their hands, and as frontlets between their eyes, and to write them on the posts of the house, and on the gates*. Whence also it is probable that the heathen idolaters used also to write some words, or engrave some characters by way of *charms*, on the posts of their houses and on their gates, as well as on their frontlets and bracelets.

As to Sir Isaac Newton's observation of the introduction of the worship of brutes from hieroglyphics, I cannot but agree with him. that the hieroglyphical method of sculpture seems to have been practised in the lower *Egypt* before the days of Moses; and that from thence came the worship of their gods in the various shapes of birds, and beasts, and fishes, forbidden in the second commandment. But as to the cause assigned by him for painting Ammon with ram's horns, to signify the king who conquered *Libya*, a country abounding with sheep; and the rest of the imaginary explanation of the emblems, under which the heathen deities were represented, as before quoted, I can by no means agree with him. Be-

[1] See Deut. vi. 9. Isai. lvii. 7, 8.

cause I do not think that he has sufficiently distinguished between the idols of the aborigines Egyptians who never worshiped any images in human form, but only some beast or fish or plant that was their emblem or representative, and those latter Egyptians who worshiped the motly deities of part human, and part a brutal form ; which latter custom may have been introduced about the time of Psammetichus, when the Grecians were first encouraged to settle in any numbers in *Egypt*, but the former custom was much earlier.

HERODOTUS says, that Neptune in particular was not so much as known to the ancient Egyptians ; and the very name of Pan, though Herodotus allows him to be Egyptian and styles him the most ancient of all the gods, betrays its origin to be Grecian, being so called from the Greek word Πᾶν which signifies *all*, because he was by the Greeks esteemed to be the god of all nature.

BUT what has contributed to confound this affair very much is, that one and the same person has been represented under very different emblems, or hieroglyphical characters. For thus, upon enquiry, we shall find, that Ham having been worshiped in *Egypt* under the two hieroglyphical characters of a ram and a goat, gave origin to the two Grecian deities of Jupiter Ammon and Pan.

FOR

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FOR let us only suppose Cham or Ham, which is the same word in the Hebrew, to be dead, and that some of his posterity wanted an hieroglyphical mark by which to notify and distinguish the tombstone or pillar that was erected over his grave. The word *cham* in Hebrew signifies *hot*, which being an adjective cannot well be represented by a symbol; it was therefore necessary to look out for some substantive or other by which that characteristical *heat*, for which Cham was remarkable, might be expressed. Berofus takes notice that Cham was called *Cham-essenua*, the word *essenua* signifying *immodest* and *impudent*: How then could this lustful heat of Cham's be stronger represented than under the symbol of a ram and a goat? That Jupiter Ammon was worshiped in *Egypt* under the symbol of a ram is beyond all controversy: and that Jupiter Ammon was the same person with Cham is manifest not only from the same significancy of the words Ammon and Cham; but also from the Latin and Grecian names of Jupiter and Ζεύς, which, as hath been before noted, signify the same with Cham, that is, *hot*.

As to the symbol of a *goat*, this may easily be shewed to have been one of the symbolical marks by which Cham was represented, and under which he was worshiped. For Berofus observes, that the city of *Chemis* in the upper *Egypt* was built in honour of Cham: and Diodorus says positively that the city of *Chemis* was

M

built

built in honour of the god Pan : therefore Pan and Cham must be the same person. Herodotus observes that Pan was the oldest of all the Egyptian gods ; and who could be older than Cham the father of *Egypt* ? He likewise says that the word Mendes in the Egyptian language equally signifies Pan and a goat. From all which put together it appears that this Pan the oldest of the gods, in honour of whom the city *Chemis* was built, was Cham ; and that he was worshiped under the figure and character of a goat.

BUT what is most remarkable is this. That, when Moses is upbraiding the children of *Israel* with being guilty of idolatry in *Egypt*, he upbraids them in particular with the worship of *goats*, as it is in the [m] original, though we translate it *devils* ; but the word in the Hebrew is *lasseirim*, which literally signifies *goats*. And yet these *goats*, these diabolical idols, which the Israelites worshiped, are in other places called *chammonim* or the representatives of Cham. Thus Lev. xxvi. 30. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 4, 7. Isai. xvii. 8. Ezech. vi. 4, 6. what we render in our translation *images* are in the original called *chammonim* ; which should be translated *Ammons*. And in one of those images, which are represented in the *Tabula Isiaca*, we find the figure of an animal compounded of the parts of a goat and a sheep, and in particular carrying both the horn's of a ram and a goat upon his head, which

[m] Lev. xvii. 7. Deut. xxxii. 17.

proves

proves that the ram and goat were both made use of as the representatives of one and the same person. See the figure in plate i. fig. 1.

AND if we pursue this subject, we shall find, that, as the worship of Ham gave origin to the worship of Jupiter Ammon and the god Pan among the Grecians, so Caphtor one of the grandsons of Noah gave rise to the worship of Jupiter Casius, as well as to the worship of Dionysius, or the elder Bacchus, of the ancient Greeks. And on the other hand, that the remarkable transactions of the famous Misor the son of Ham, of Pharaoh, Cenchres, and Caphtor, have probably been collected together to make up the one imaginary character of Osiris.

To set this affair therefore in a proper light, I shall make an enquiry into the particular history of these persons, and shall endeavour to shew who they were, and what were the particular actions which gave occasion to their deification.

THE ingenious and learned Mr. Warburton hath shewed, from the nature of things as well as the practice of nations, that the art of hieroglyphical writing was the first kind of writing that was ever invented. And Eusebius remarks that the first temples were built over or near the burial places of eminent persons. Which burial places were in ancient times distinguished by a pillar or tall stone erected on one end over the place of their burial for a sepulchral monu-

ment, as appears from the pillar that was erected by Jacob on the burial place of Rebecca, as mentioned Gen. xxxv. 20. And hence I suppose came the origin of Obelisks in *Egypt*, which as it abounded with fine quarries, gave the Egyptians an opportunity of pitching stones of the largest size over the burial places of eminent persons.

AND now let us suppose any of the first planters of one of the Egyptian colonies to have died, over whose burial place it was thought proper a pillar of stone should be erected as a memorial; and let us consider how the memory of the particular person here interred could be preserved before the art of literary writing was invented; and I believe none can be devised so natural or so rational as the engraving some hieroglyphical mark on the sepulchral stone which was significative either of his name or some qualification, or distinguishing part of his character. As for example, let us suppose that Caphtor, the head of the family of the Caphtorim, had a sepulchral stone erected to his memory, what more apposite or significative emblem could possibly be engraved on it than a *pomegranate*, which in Hebrew was called Caph-tor? Since the very image of the fruit called to mind the name of the person underneath interred. And, upon enquiry, it will appear more than probable that this happened to be the real matter of fact, which gave occasion in subsequent ages to the worship

ship of Jupiter Casius as well as of Dionysius the elder.

CAPHTOR, from whom came the [n] Caphtorim, is in the history of Moses represented as being the son of Cashal the father of the Cashluhim, who was the son of Misor the son of Ham. Which Caphtor seems to have come along with his great grandfather Ham into *Egypt*, because he is mentioned by Moses in the tenth chapter of Genesis before he speaks of the confusion of tongues and the dispersion which followed from it at Babel, the chapter ending thus, *These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations; and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood.* And hence it is that Moses frequently mentions the name of the Family or Nation as descending from a nation, rather than the name of the Parent of the family or nation; as when he says, that *Mizraim begat Ludim and Anamim and Lehabim*, &c. rather than say that *Misor begat Lud*, and *Anam* and *Laab*, &c. because Lud, and Anam, and Laab, might have died without leaving a family or nation behind them.

Now the first Egyptian warrior that we meet any account of in real history, who extended his conquests beyond the boundaries of *Egypt*, was this [o] Caphtor, who with his brethren the Philistim dispossessed the

[n] Gen. x. 14.

[o] Deut. ii. 23.

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Avim of that part of the land of *Canaan*, which was afterwards called *Philistia* : for we find the Philistines peaceably settled there, when Abraham made a covenant with Abimelech, as mentioned Gen. xx. 2.

AND now if we can but shew that this Caphtor lived on *Mount Casius*, and was deified after his death; and that Jupiter Casius was worshiped on *Mount Casius* with the emblematical figure of a pomegranate in his hand, which in Hebrew is called Caphtor, I think there will be no reason to doubt that the Jupiter Casius of the Greeks took his origin from the famous Caphtor of *Egypt*.

THE habitation of Caphtor is described by the prophet [p] Jeremiah under the appellation of *the isle of Caphtor*. And in ancient times places bordering on the sea, especially promontories and head-lands, were called [q] isles. Thus the territory of Pelops in *Greece* was by the Greeks called Πέλοπος Νῆσος, that is, the island of *Pelops*, or *Peloponnesus*, though it is really not an island, but only much furrounded by the sea: hence also the *Thracian* and *Tauric Chersonesi*, &c. &c.

THE situation of the country of Caphtor will accordingly be found to have been on the sea coast, between *Phœnicia* and *Egypt*; for Caphtor was brother

[p] Jer. xlvii. 4.

[q] See Gen. x. 5.

to [r] Peles the father of the Philistim, in honour of whom the city of *Peleusum* was so called, which stood in that part of *Egypt* where the most eastern branch of the *Nile* empties itself into the sea. And that the situation of these two brothers was in that part of *Egypt* is also plain from the quarrel that soon happened between them and their neighbours the Avim, who were settled in that part of *Phœnicia* which bordered upon *Egypt*. For says Moses, [s] *The Avim which dwelt in Hazerim even unto Azzah, the Caphtorim which came forth out of Caphtor destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead.* Which victory, though it is here entirely attributed to the Caphtorim, yet was the joint effort both of the *Philistim* and *Caphtorim*; this country being, from Peles and his progeny the Philistim, called in after ages the land of the *Philistim* or *Philistines*. For as Peles was the elder brother of the two, and therefore probably had the more numerous progeny, this country seems to have been principally peopled by him, and the conquest to have gone under his name; the land of the Avim being from the sons of Peles called from the time of this conquest the land of the Philistines; though Caphtor, according to the account given us of this affair by Moses, as before quoted, seems to have been the principal person concerned in the heroical part of this transaction.

[r] Gen. x. 14.

[s] Deut. iii. 23.

THE prophet Amos [t], speaking of this circumstance, in the name of God, saith, *Have not I brought up ISRAEL out of EGYPT? and the PHILISTINES from CAPHTOR?* And why does the prophet say that God brought the Philistines from *Caphtor* and not from *Peleusium*, but because the habitation of *Caphtor* was nearer to the land of the Avim than *Peleusium* was, and Peles must therefore have past through the land of *Caphtor* to get at the Avim? A situation agreeing exactly with that of *Mount Casius*, which being bounded on the north by the *Mediterranean sea*, into which according to [u] Strabo it projected considerably, and on the west by the *Sirbonic lake*, might very properly in those days, have been called, as it is by the prophet Jeremiah, *the isle of Caphtor*.

And that this was the true situation of *Mount Casius*, is plain from the very name, as well as from the descriptions given of it by Herodotus, Josephus, Strabo and Pliny, as being near *Peleusium* bordering on the *Sirbonic lake*, and being the boundary between *Egypt* and *Syria*. Thus [x] Josephus speaking of Titus's journey from *Alexandria* to *Jerusalem* says, that being

[t] Amos, ix. 7.

[u] Casius mons aggeribus arenarum similis, et in *Mare procurrente*, ipse aquarum inops. In eo Pompeii Magni corpus jacet, et Jovis Casii templum est. Strabo l. xvi. p. 523.

[x] Jos. de Bel. Jud. l. iv.

arrived at *Thmuis*, he went on shore, walking on foot, and lodged all night at a small city called *Tanis*; his second station was *Heracleopolis*; and his third *Pelufum*; when he had refreshed his army at that place for two days, on the third he crossed the mouths of the *Nile* at *Pelufum*. He then proceeded one station over the desert, and pitched his camp at the temple of Jupiter *Casius*, and the next day at *Ostracine*. Now [y] *Strabo* says, that the temple of Jupiter *Casius* was on *Mount Casius*. And [z] *Herodotus*, that *Mount Casius* stretches into the sea near the *Sirbonic lake*; and that it is the boundary between *Egypt* and *Syria*. In which he is supported by *Pliny* [a] who saies, that *Mox Idumæa incipit et Palæstina ab emerfu Sirbonis lacus*.

AND indeed it is from this circumstance of its being a boundary between these two countries, that the very name of *Casius* is derived; being borrowed from the Hebrew word קָסִי *catfi* or *cas*, which signifies a boundary, and that derived from the radical word קָצַץ *to divide*, from whence the substantive קֵץ signifies an end, in which sense it is often used in the Old Testament. So that this situation of *Mount Casius*, as being that part of *Egypt* which bordered on *Palestine*, seems to agree exactly with the place of the habitation of the famous *Caphor*.

WE are now to shew that this *Caphor* was deified

[y] *Strabo* l. xvi. p. 523. [z] *Herod.* l. ii c. 6. l. iii. c. 5.

[a] *Plin. Nat. Hist.* l. v. c. 13.

after his death. And this is easily done from the history of Naaman the Syrian, as mentioned 2 Kings v. 18. who said to Elisha the prophet, *In this thing the Lord pardon thy servant, that, when my master goeth into the house of RIMMON to worship there, and he leaneth on my hand, and I bow myself in the house of RIMMON, when I bow myself in the house of RIMMON, the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing.* Whence it appears that there was such a deity as the god Rimmon. Now Rimmon in the Syriac or Chaldee, which anciently was the same language though now they are different, signifies the same thing with *Caphtor* in Hebrew, viz. a *pomegranate*. So that the god Rimmon was really and truly the same person with the god Caphtor. And hence it also came to pass, from the same deity being worshiped in these two different places, that that mountain in *Syria*, where this Rimmon or Jupiter Casius was worshiped, was also called *Mount Casius*, in honour of the place from whence his worship was transferred from *Egypt* into *Syria*. It was upon *Mount Casius* in *Syria Antiochena* that Trajan, [a] in his progress against the Parthians, made an offering to Jupiter Casius, on which account this temple of Jupiter Casius is represented on several of his coins, as well as on several of the subsequent emperors [b]. The deity is described by a mountain in the middle of the temple, to denote his being a mountain-de-

[a] See. Trifan Comment. Hist. des Emp. Vol. 1. p. 425.

[b] See Plate. II. fig. 4.

ity,

ity, with this inscription, CEΛETKEΩN. Π. CY-PIAC [c]. i. e. *Seleuciensium Pieriæ Syriæ*, in order to distinguish this temple from that in *Egypt*. And this is also the reason why I produced so many quotations out of Josephus, Strabo, Herodotus, and Pliny, to prove the original *Mount Casius* with the temple of Jupiter Casius on it to have been situated near *Egypt*, whence also it appears that the Syrian Jupiter Casius was borrowed from thence.

It being thus proved that the famous Caphtor was deified in *Syria* at the time of the prophet Elisha by the name of Rimmon, and at the time of Trajan by the name of Jupiter Casius, nothing remains but to shew, that the ΖΕΥC ΚΑCΙΟC of the Greeks, or Jupiter Casius of the Romans, was worshiped on the original *Mount Casius*, bordering on *Egypt* and *Palestine*, in the figure of a man holding a pomegranate in his hand, which in Hebrew is called *Caphtor*, and in Syriac *Rimmon*. And this sufficiently appears from Achilles Tatius, who expressly asserts that, being at *Pelusium* he met with an image of JUPITER CASIUS in the form of a young man with a POMEGRANATE in his hand, which, says he, contains a mystery. But this mystery denotes no more, than that *Caphtor* in Hebrew

[c] So Patin represents it, and Vaillant and Hardouin on Pliny read it. But Mr Masson, who had seen the coin, saies it is ΠΕΙΡΙΑC, as in Mss. this Seleusia of Syria is often styled. Biblioth. Literaria, Lond. 1722. 4to. Num. iii. p. 45, 46.

signifying a pomegranate, this fruit was put in his hand as an hieroglyphical mark to distinguish the person deified.

IT is manifest that the Egyptians worshiped plants, for which they were ridiculed by the wits of Greece and Rome:

*Quibus nascuntur in hortis
Numina.*

says the Poet. When therefore the Greeks came into this country, who never worshiped either beasts or plants, and found a stone or an altar dedicated to some god with the hieroglyphical mark, as, suppose, of a pomegranate on it, they immediately erected the statue of a man in its stead, and gave him the emblem of the pomegranate to hold in his hand; of which there is a [d] medal extant in the collection of the Elector Palatine, on one side of which is represented a man with a pomegranate in his hand, and on the reverse this motto ΖΕΥC ΚΑCΙΟC. See plate I. fig. 2.

AND as *Caphtor* was the original person from whence the Jupiter Casius of the ancients was borrowed, so is it also more than probable that he gave rise to the worship of the elder Dionysus, as sufficiently appears from the very word Dionysus, which both in Arabic and Greek signifies the lord or god of *Nysa*. For, ac-

[d] See Reland's Palestine, vol. ii. p. 934.

according to Monsieur Formont, *Dio* in Arabic signifies *lord*; and therefore *Dionysus* properly signifies, according to that interpretation, the *lord of Nyssa*. And in Greek the word $\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ signifies the same as the word *Divus* among the Latins, that is, *a divine person*, and so by way of eminence is put for *Jupiter*; and therefore *Dionysus* is plainly, according to this interpretation, derived from a composition of the two words $\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and Νύσσης , i. e. *the god of Nyssa*.

Now if we can but prove this town of *Nyssa*, of which *Dionysius* was first the lord, and then the god, to have been situated on *Mount Casius*, I think there will be no need of any further proof that this *Dionysius* or god of *Nyssa*, and *Jupiter Casius*, and *Caphtor* were all one and the same person. Eusebius says that *Nyssa* was a town in *Arabia*, situated between the *Nile* and *Phœnicia*; which agrees exactly with the situation of *Mount Casius*, for as that was undoubtedly the boundary between *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, as hath been already shewn, so was it also the boundary where these two countries bordered on *Arabia*, and is therefore frequently by the geographers said to belong to *Arabia*. Thus [e] Pomponius Mela says, when speaking of *Arabia*, *Arabia, nisi qua Casio monte attollitur, plana et sterilis*. And again, speaking of the *Sinus Arabicus*, he says, [f] *Init penitus introrsusque: dum Ægyptum pene et montem*

[e] Pomp. Mel. i. c. 10.

[f] Id. l. iii. c. 8.

Arabiae Casum attingit. And [g] Diodorus quotes Homer for saying in his Hymns, that *Nysa* was built on the top of an healthful mountain in *Arabia*, not far from *Egypt*, but distant from *Phœnicia*, or, which is the same thing, more distant from *Phœnicia* than *Egypt*; which agrees exactly with the situation of *Mount Casius*; the *Sirbonic lake*, as well as a large tract of an uninhabitable desert, lying between *Mount Casius* and the habitable parts of *Phœnicia*, which desert, though in reality it belonged to *Phœnicia*, Homer, I suppose, reckoned as belonging to *Arabia*, as it is manifest Pomponius Mela imagined *Mount Casius* did.

It is further to be observed that the appellation of *Nysa* seems to have been borrowed from this high and elevated situation of the town, the Hebrew word נִשָּׁה *Nasa* in Niphal and Pihel, that is, when it is founded *Nysa*, signifying, according to Buxtorf, *sustulit, extulit se, sublatus est, elatus*. And accordingly Virgil, in his description of it, says,

Liber agens CELSO Nysæ de vertice tigres.

Æn. vi. 805.

And if Caphtor, who was manifestly of a warlike genius, did at his first settlement in those parts employ himself in hunting and killing wild beasts, as it is more than probable he did, a warlike genius in those days, like [b] Nimrod, shewing itself in early

[g] Diod. l. v. c. 2.

[b] Gen. x. 8, 9.

life,

life, by hunting wild beasts, this may have given occasion to those traditionary histories of this Dionysus or lord of *Nysa* having conquered lions, tigers, &c. And his having conquered the Avim, the fame of which spread as far as *Syria Antiochena* with so much eclat as to occasion divine worship to be there paid to him, was a sufficient foundation for the Greeks to raise the report of his having conquered *India*, every place which was much eastward of *Greece* being by the poets called *India*. Thus Virgil, speaking of the *Nile*, calls upper *Egypt* and *Æthiopia* by the name of *India*.

Usque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis.

Georg. iv. 293.

And in another place, speaking of the Parthians, he says,

Imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum.

Georg. ii. 172.

And hence it is that *Nysa* is said by some of the ancients to have been situated in *India*. As for example, Philostratus speaking of *Nysa* says, that it was a mountain in *India*, where was a temple dedicated to Bacchus.

As to the tradition of this Dionysus having been the first that planted the vine, I cannot find any well grounded foundation to support it. The history of the ancient heathen gods hath been so strangely confound-

ed,

ed, and their transactions have been so blended one with another, that it is almost impossible at this distance of time to unravel them. Thus, for instance, Diodorus says that Osiris was sometimes taken for Serapis, Bacchus, Pluto, Ammon, Jupiter, and Pan; and that Isis was the same with Ceres, Thesmophora, Luna, Juno &c. And Plutarch [*i*] hath two dissertations to prove, that Bacchus and Osiris were both the same person, from the similitude of the rites in their worship; the ivy being called in the Egyptian language *Chemo Siris*, i. e. *the plant of Osiris*. He says however, in another place, that this part of the character of Osiris with relation to the culture of the vine was in after ages by mistake applied to Bacchus. I should therefore be inclined to imagine, as the characters of these two persons were very different, Dionysus or Bacchus being a martial hero, and Osiris a [*k*] peaceable prince, cultivating and improving his country by the arts of husbandry, and political government, that this mistake arose from some statuary god-maker, who not knowing how to account for the pomegranate in the hand of our young Dionysus, inserted a bunch of grapes instead of it, as being the more ornamental, as well as the more valuable fruit of the two; and that the mythologists, who were also the poets of the age, readily came into the exchange, as being more agreeable to their own

[*i*] Plut. de Isid. & Osir. sect. 35. and sect. 27, 30, 37.

[*k*] Diod. l. i. c. 2.

natural disposition, as well as the better subject for poetry.

As therefore it is manifest from Strabo, that, before the Grecians introduced the worship of human figures into *Egypt*, the Aborigines Egyptians had no images in their temples, that is, none of human form, but only the images of some animal or plant, which represented the object of their worship; how can we more naturally account for the origin of this custom, than by supposing such animal or plant to have been engraved on the tomb or sepulchral monument of some eminent persons as an hieroglyphical mark significant of the name or character of the person underneath interred, and that, from this and some other similar occasions, the worship of plants and animals came to be first practised in *Egypt*?

For besides animals and plants we also find represented on the obelisks and ancient religious monuments of the Egyptians, several instruments of husbandry, which we may reasonably suppose were first engraved as hieroglyphical marks on the tomb-stones of their inventors, to perpetuate their memory to posterity; which the Grecians, when they came into *Egypt*, placed in the hands of such human figures as by tradition they had learned were the authors or inventors of them. Thus, for example, we find the figures of Osiris and Isis always represented holding some instrument or other of husbandry. For, as to the *Crux ansata*, which
O hath

hath so much puzzled the learned world, and has occasioned Kircher to spend a long chapter in summing up the various opinions concerning it, who has, with a great waste of Rabbinical and Arabic learning, endeavoured to prove it contains a mystical summary of all astronomical and theological learning, both pagan and christian, it is, after all, no more than a setting stick for planting roots and larger seeds; as may appear from the figure of Osiris, plate I. fig. 3. which is copied from the Tab. Isiaca. The circle at the top, which has been conjectured to be an emblem of the world, being no more than the handle to hold it by, to enable the person that uses it to thrust the lower end into the ground; and the part which forms the cross underneath, being only a contrivance to prevent the other part from running too far into the earth, as it would be apt to do in the fertile soil of *Egypt*, especially after it had been moistened by the overflowings of the *Nile*, which was the usual time for sowing or planting. The reaping hook and flail cannot easily be mistaken. But two instruments Isis generally carries in her hand, which have not yet been explained; one seems only to be a knife for weeding corn, and the other a simple instrument made use of to this day by the country people both in *England* and *Ireland*, in twisting ropes of hay, for several purposes in husbandry, as may easily be perceived only by casting an eye on fig. 4. plate I. and fig. 6. plate II. This might have served in *Egypt* for twisting either sedge or the bark of

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of the palm tree, the common materials there for
making ropes.

THE history of Osiris and Isis, as related by Berofus and Diodorus, seems manifestly compounded of various transactions, which were performed in different parts of the world, in very distant ages, and by very different persons. The history of the warlike exploits and conquests of Osiris seem to have been borrowed from the traditions relating to Caphtor; as the planting of the vine, which is attributed to Dionysus, or Caphtor, seems to have been taken from the traditionary history of Osiris. For that the actions of these two contemporary princes have been much confounded in history may be proved from a multitude of quotations out of the ancients.

NOR did the authors of the history of Osiris stick to contemporary transactions, but have manifestly mixed the history of some facts which happened in much later ages of the world, even as low down as the times of Moses, with the history of the invention of those arts of husbandry which must have been discovered in a much more early age; and therefore could not possibly have happened in the life of one and the same person. As for example, the art of plowing and sowing corn could not possibly have been the invention of so late an age as the reign of that Pharaoh or Egyptian king, who was drowned in the Red-sea in pursuit of Moses and the Israelites; and yet it is manifest,

almost to a demonstration, that the history of the destruction of Osiris by Typhon, and of the lamentations of Isis for the loss of her husband Osiris, whose body she could not find, because it was thrown into the sea, must have been borrowed from the aforementioned transaction.

OF which opinion the tradition mentioned by [l] Tacitus, that it was in the reign of Isis, the wife of Osiris, that a multitude of Jews left *Egypt* and were conducted into a neighbouring country, under the command of Hierosolymus and Judæus, is a strong corroboration, which story, by adding to it some of the remarkable traditions belonging to their ancient worthies; and men of renown, was in after ages wrought up into the fabulous history of Osiris. For [m] Plutarch acknowledges, that Typho, the enemy of Osiris, was sometimes taken for an emblem of the sea; and indeed the very origin of the word, being derived from the Greek word *τίσσομαι*, *fumo*, to foam and rage, seems to confirm it. And what is very remarkable, Plutarch observes, that this Typho, whenever he was represented by an image, was always painted red. Now it is impossible to give any other reason why this emblem of the sea, into which the body of Osiris is said to be thrown, should be painted red, but because the name of the sea in which Osiris was drowned, was the sea of Edom, which word signifies red, and from thence

[l] Tacit. Hist. l. v.

[m] Plut. de Isid. & Osir. sect. 41.

that

that sea has ever since been vulgarly called the *Red-sea*.

AND yet from one part of the character given by [n] Diodorus of Isis and Osiris, that they were great encouragers and improvers of the civil arts of husbandry, and first taught the inhabitants of *Egypt* how to plow and sow, &c. these persons must have lived in a much earlier age of the world than that of Moses. Hence Tibullus says,

Primus aratra manu solerti fecit Osiris,

Et teneram ferro sollicitavit humum.

Primus inexpertæ commisit semina terræ,

Pomaque non notis legit ab arboribus.

Hic docuit teneram palis adjungere vitem,

Et viridem dura cedere falce comam.

Which arts are so necessary to the support of human life, that it is impossible the cultivation of them could have been deferred to so late an age of the world as the days of Moses. And therefore we ought to suppose that the real persons, from whom this part of the character of Osiris and his wife Isis hath been borrowed, were some of the first inhabitants of *Egypt* after the flood; upon whose sepulchral tomb-stones the Grecians having found the several instruments of husbandry engraved, which they had either invented or improved, erected the statue of an human figure for their deification, and as a distinguishing mark by which these

[n] Diod. l. i. c. 2.

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deities might be known from others, placed the instruments of husbandry in their hands which had before been graved on their obelisks, or in their temples; and as among the rest Osiris might have had the figure of a bull engraved on his pillar, as one of the hieroglyphical marks which were intended to denote his having taught the Egyptians the art of plowing; and as Isis might have the figure of a cow engraved, among others, on her sepulchral pillar, to denote her care and attendance at the dairy, hence possibly these two animals might in time come to be reckoned sacred in *Egypt*; and when the Grecians, who never worshiped beasts, came thither, they would of course erect statues to those deities (of whom the bull and the cow were the representatives) in the shape of human figures, but with the head of a bull or a cow, to denote the deities to which these imaginary figures belonged [o].

AND if we are inclined to enquire who that person was, among the descendants of Ham, from whence this character of Osiris was borrowed, we shall find it was probably Mizraim, the second son of Ham as mentioned Gen. x. 6. whose proper name was Mizor, the plural number of which truly denotes the people or nations descended from him, rather than the head of the family itself, as hath been before noted, the termination *im* in Hebrew being the noted termination of

[o] See plate II. fig. 5. representing Isis with a cow's head, the royal plume, and Orus on her lap.

the masculine gender in the plural number. And accordingly the Egyptians are universally, through the whole Pentateuch, called by the name of מִצְרַיִם *Mizraim*, as being the descendants of Mizor, or Misor, as he is called by Sanchoniatho, who says that the brother of Sedec, or Canaan, was called Μίσωρ. For it is remarkable, that the Hebrew *Tfade* was differently pronounced by different nations; the Greeks generally converting it into a *t*, and the Phœnicians into an *s*. Thus, for example, the city of *Tyre*, whose ancient and proper name was צֹר *Zor* or *Tsor*, was by the Greeks called *Tor*, and thence *Tyre*, but by the Phœnicians it was called *Sor*, and now *Sur* to this day. In like manner the city of צֶן *Zoan*, or *Tsoan*, was by the Grecian pronunciation changed into *Taan*, and thence into *Tanis*; whereas the Phœnicians pronounced it *Soan*, as it is at present written in the Samaritan Pentateuch, Num. xiii. 23. And therefore Sanchoniatho, who was a Phœnician, pronounced the Hebrew word מִצְרַיִם *Mizor* or *Mitfor*, Μίσωρ, *Misor*.

How *Misor* came to be called *Osiris* is not so easy to be accounted for. Sir Isaac [p] Newton observes, that “Plutarch tells us, the syllable *O* put before the word *Siris* by the Greeks, made it scarce intelligible to the Egyptians.” Which is a very uncommon mistake in that great and generally correct author.

For [q] Plutarch, on the contrary, says, that the syllable *O* was added by the Egyptians. His words are, Εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ τὸν Ὅσιριν ἀνιχνύοντες Ἡλίον εἶναι, καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι Σείριον ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων λεγόντες, εἰ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἡ πρόθεσις τῷ ἄρθρῳ τῷ ὀνόματι πεποίηκεν ἀμφιγνοεῖσθαι. That is, *There are some who manifestly assert that OSIRIS is the same with the SUN, and that he was called SIRIUS by the Greeks, tho' the addition of the article by the Egyptians made [the origin of] the name to be doubted of.*

AND indeed it is not to be wondered that the Egyptians should prefix the letter *O* to the word *Siris*, when the Greeks had once introduced that name to be applied to the sun, since by that addition they made an Egyptian word of it, signifying *many eyed*, which was no improper epithet for the sun. For says [r] Plutarch, speaking in another place of OSIRIS, *the name itself denotes many eyed, as we are told by some, who would derive it from the words Os and IRI, which words in the Egyptian language have that import.*

THE name it seems, according to Plutarch, by which the deity, afterwards called Osiris, was originally known in Greece, was Σείριος, who supposes that name to belong to the sun. This also must have been a fiction, or mistake, of the later Greeks. For Σείριος

[q] Plut. de Isid. & Osir. sect. 52.

[r] Plut. de Isid. & Osir. sect. 10.

being

being an adjective, must be connected with some substantive; which was probably the word Ἀσὴρ. But Hesiod, who wrote many ages before Plutarch, mentions the dog-star by the name of Σείριος Ἀσὴρ, and not the sun; from whence we see how much the Egyptian deities were blended and confounded together by the Greeks, towards the latter ages of the Grecian empire.

BUT the true name, by which this god was originally distinguished in *Phœnicia*, before it was changed into Osiris by the Egyptians, or into Siris, or Σείριος by the Greeks, seems to have been Ifiris[s], whom Sanchoniatho mentions as being brother to Chna the first Phœnician. Now Chna the first Phœnician was manifestly Canaan, which name of כנען as it is in the Hebrew, may be read either Canaan, or Cnaän, and was therefore by the Greeks called Χνᾶ, Chna. This Cnaän, or Chna, was the youngest son of Ham, who with his descendants first peopled *Phœnicia*, and from him that country was called the land of *Canaan*, or *Cnaän*.

IN another part of the same chapter Sanchoniatho says, that Misor, and Sedec, which signifies *just*, were brothers, and that Misor had a son named Taautus, who was the first inventor of the elements of writing. Now it is more than probable, that this Sedec was also

[s] Ἰσιρις ἀδελφὸς Χνᾶ τῷ πρώτῳ Φοίνικος. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. i. 10.

the same person with Chna, or Canaan, the brother of Ifiris, and that he was the very person who received tithes from Abraham, under the title of [t] Melchizedec, which is as much as to say King Sedec, or, as St. Paul explains it, *the King of Righteousness*, a title he might have acquired on account of his regular distribution of justice, being the father, and consequently prince, of the whole country. For if Canaan, the youngest son of Ham, be but supposed equally long lived with Arphaxad the son of Sem, as he was of an equal distance in descent from Noah; Canaan might have been alive several years after this congress of Melchizedec with Abraham. This Melchizedec or Melchi Sedech, or, according to the literal writing of the Hebrew, Melchi Tfadec, is said by St. [u] Paul, to be *without father, and without mother*; a circumstance, very well agreeing with the account given of Chna by Sanchoniatho, who, being the first that inhabited and planted Phœnicia, is said to be *without father and without mother*, because his parents not living with him, were unknown in that country. Thus [w] Seneca, speaking of two of the ancient Kings of Rome, says, that Servius had no mother, and Ancus no father; which he afterwards explains by saying, that it was not known who was the father of Ancus. And hence also Horace says,

[t] See Chron. Heb. Bible vindicated, p. 100. [u] Heb. vii. 3.

[w] Senec. Epist. viii.

*Persuades hoc tibi vere,
Ante potestatem Tullî atque ignobile regnum,
Multos sæpe viros NULLIS MAJORIBUS ORTOS
Et vixisse probos, amplis et honoribus auctos.*

Hor. Serm. l. i. Sat. 6.

All which put together is an additional proof that Ofiris, or Ifiris, the brother of Chna, was the same person with Misor, the brother of Sedec.

HAVING thus discovered Jupiter Ammon and Pan in the person of Ham; and Jupiter Casius and Dionysus [*w*] in the person of Caphtor, the great grandson of Ham; and of Ofiris in the person of Misor; let us now try if we can discover who this Taautus was, who being the son of Misor is here said by Sanchoniatho to be the first discoverer of the art of writing. [*x*] Sanchoniatho likewise says, that this Taautus was the same person, whom the Egyptians call Thyoth, the Alexandrians Thoth, and the Greeks Hermes. He likewise [*y*] observes, that this Taautus meditated very much on the nature of dragons and serpents, and that in after ages the Phœnicians and Egyptians on that account attributed a kind of divinity to these animals.

Now according to Moses, Misor or Mizor the father of the Mizraim had no less than [*z*] six sons and

[*w*] The editions of Plutarch write Dionysius; but Spanheim has proved from coins that the true name is Dionysus, Num. Diss. vii. ed. fol. which is likewise more agreeable to the etymology above given of it, p. 94, 95.

[*x*] Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. i. c. 9.

[*y*] Id. ibid. c. 10.

[*z*] Gen. x. 13.

two grandsons, before he departed with his father Ham from the plains of *Shinaar*, to march towards *Egypt* on the disperſion at *Babel*; which were theſe: Lud, the father of the Ludim or Ludians; Anam, the father of the Ananim; Laab, the father of the Lehabim, Lubim, or Libyans; Neph, or Nephat, the father of the Naphtuhim; Pathros, the father of the Pathruſim; and Caſhal, the father of the Caſhluhim; who had alſo two ſons, Peles the father of the Philiftim, and Caph-tor, the father of the Caphtorim.

[a] MR. Shuckford ſays, that the Egyptians generally aſcribe all their ſciences to Pathros, whom they called Thyoth. In proof of which he quotes Jamblichus *De myſteriis Ægypticrum*. But I cannot find that Jamblichus, in his whole treatiſe *De myſteriis*, once mentions the name of Pathros. [b] He ſpeaks indeed of Hermes having written twenty thouſand volumes, or, as Meneteus ſays, 36525 volumes, and begins his treatiſe with ſaying that the Egyptian writers thinking Hermes was the inventor of arts and ſciences, aſcribed all theſe books to Hermes, who was reputed the god of wiſdom and eloquence: That Pythagoras, Plato, Democritus, Eudoxus, and many others went to viſit the Egyptian prieſts: That Pythagoras and Plato learned their philoſophy from the pillars of Mercury in *Egypt*; which pillars, ſays he, are full of learning. But he no where explains who this Hermes was.

[a] Shuck. Con. B. iv. p. 216.

[b] Jamb. de Deo et Deis.

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MR. Shuckford says also, that Pathros, whom he calls "Pathrusim, is imagined to have first invented " the use of letters, but Naphtuhim is said to have " learnt both them, and several other useful arts from " him, and to have instructed his people in them. " He (that is, as I suppose, Naphtuhim) is said to have " been the author of the architecture of these ages, " and to have had some useful knowledge in physic " and anatomy. The Egyptians do in general ascribe " all their sciences to the other brother; but it is easy " to conceive how this might happen, Pathrusim, " whom they called Thyoth, being a person so extra- " ordinary, that it might be difficult for any other " name besides his to obtain any considerable share of " reputation in the age he lived in".

AND in proof of this Mr. Shuckford quotes Syncellus and Sir John Marsham; but unfortunately neither Syncellus nor Marsham say one word about Naphtuhim, that I could find. [c] Syncellus, in his third dynasty, mentions one Tosorthrus the successor of Necherephes, whom he says the Egyptians called *Æsculapius*, on account of his skill in medicines, and that he found out also the art of chiselling stones, and took much pains in improving the art of engraving letters. [d] Marsham indeed endeavours to prove this Tosorthrus to be a brother of Thoth's; because, according to the Grecian mythology, both *Hermes* and *Æscu-*

[c] Syncel. p. 56. Ed. Par.

[d] Marsh. p. 39.

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Æsculapius are said to be the sons of Jupiter. But in this he contradicts an authority, which at other times he relies much upon, viz. Sanchoniatho, who [e] expressly says that Æsculapius was the son of Sedec, who was brother to Misor, and therefore Thoth and Æsculapius could at best be but cousin-germans.

So that I am afraid Tosforthrus cannot easily be proved to be the same person with Naph or Naphtuhim, the son of Misor; though Mr Shuckford seems to have hit by chance on the real person to whom the original character, not only of Æsculapius, but the god Thoth truly belongs. And that is Naph or Neph the father of the Naphtuhim, as will appear more plainly when we come to compare some circumstances, not selected out of mythological writers, but from true historians, who relate matters of fact, and not imaginary fables.

IF therefore we first consult the books of Moses, we shall find that Ham the son of Noah, immediately after the confusion at *Babel*, came with his two sons Mizor and Canaan (which last was also called, Sedec, or the just) to take possession of those territories which from them have since been called the lands of *Canaan*, and the lands of *Mizor* or *Mizraim*; and having left his younger son Canaan with his eleven grandsons in

[e] Euseb. Præp. l. i. c. 10.

possession of the land of *Canaan* [f] *from the entering in of HAMATH even unto GAZA*; he then proceeded with his son Mizor and his children to take possession of the land of *Egypt*; and having settled his grandson Cashal with his two great-grand-children Peles and Caphtor at the entrance into *Egypt*, where they built *Pelufsum* in honour of Peles and possessed themselves of [g] *the Islands of Caphtor*, he advanced further up into *Egypt* with his son Mizor, and settled him at *Zoan* in the land of *Mizraim*, as it is called in the Scriptures, or in the *Mestracæan* region, as it is called by Josephus; *Grand Cairo*, which stands nearly in the place where *Zoan* did formerly, being called by the Arabians to this day [b] *Al-Messer*.

Then Ham went still further up into *Egypt*, and possessed himself of that part which from him was named [i] *Chamia*, now inhabited by the Copts, who are stiled in the Language of the country *Chami* to this day. In which territory the city of [k] *Chamys*, or [l] *No-Ammon*, as it is called by the prophet Ezekiel (which literally signifies the city or habitation of [m] *Ammon*) was built in honour of him. From whence

[f] Num. xxxiv, 9. Josh. xiii. 5.

[g] Jer. xlvii. 4.

[b] Shaw's Trav. p. 340.

[i] Though *Cham* is in English, for the softness of pronunciation written *Ham*, yet the true name is *Cham*, as it is always written both in Hebrew and Greek. [k] Berosus. [l] Ezek. xxx. 14.

[m] That Cham and Ammon denote the same person appears from comparing Gen. xiv. 5. and 1 Chron. iv. 40. with Deut. ii. 20.

his son [*n*] Pathros still went higher up and built the city of *Pathros*, but where that was situated I cannot positively determine.

NEPH, or Naph, or Nephath, the Father of the Naph-tuhim, advanced still further up the river, and proceeded as far as *Syene*, on the uttermost southern borders of *Egypt*, and settled somewhere thereabouts, whence that region was from him called *Napata*, where queen Candace afterwards reigned, according to [*o*] Strabo.

LUD went still higher, and possessed himself of *Æthiopia* properly so called, from whom came the Ludim or Lydians, mentioned by the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, as being famous [*p*] *for handling and bending the bow*; and of whom [*q*] Herodotus tells this remarkable story, that, when Cambyfes had conquered *Egypt*, and had thoughts of invading *Æthiopia*, he sent some spies before him, who, under pretence of carrying presents to the King, might privately enquire into the strength and condition of the kingdom. When they were arrived at court, and had made their presents, the king of *Æthiopia* said to them, “ it was not from
“ any consideration of my friendship that the king of
“ *Persia* sent you to me with these presents; neither
“ have you spoken the truth; but are come into my
“ kingdom as spies. If Cambyfes was an honest man,

[*n*] Isai. xi. 11. Jer. iv. 41.

[*o*] Strabo, l. xvii.

[*p*] Isai. lxvi. 19. Jer. xlv. 9.

[*q*] Herod. l. iii.

“ he

“ he would desire no more than his own; and not endeavour to reduce a people under servitude who have never done him any injury. However give him this bow from me, and let him know that the king of *Æthiopia* advises the king of *Persia* to make war against the *Æthiopians*, when the *Persians* shall be able thus easily to draw so strong a bow; and in the mean time to thank the gods, that they never inspired the *Æthiopians* with a desire of extending their dominions beyond their own country”. When he had said this, he loosed the string, and delivered the bow to the ambassadors.

LAAB crossed over the *Nile*, and possessed himself of that part of *Africa*, which from his posterity the *Lehabim* or *Lubim*, mentioned 2 Chron. xii. 3. xvi. 8. was called *Libya*. Where [r] Anam went is not so certain; but possibly he may have crossed over the river *Nile* with his brother Laab, the people of that country being called by the prophet [s] Ezekiel a mingled people.

Now of all the sons of Mizor, viz. Lud, Anam, Laab, Neph, Pathros, and Cashal, I can find no traces in real history which any way resemble the character of Taautus or Thoth, except it be Neph or Nephat

[r] I cannot conceive the reason why Mr. Shuckford so confidently affirms Anam to be the Curudes of Syncellus, who succeeded Menes in the government of the *Mesraean* region. Shuckf. Connect. p. 216. Syncell. p. 91. Par. ed.

[s] Ezek. xxx. 5.

Q

the

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the father of the Naphtuhim, who settled about *Syene*, on the borders between *Egypt* and *Æthiopia*. So that we must have recourse to Neph the fourth son of Mizor to find out in him, if we can, this god Thoth.

Now if we look into Plutarch, we shall see that the inhabitants of the *Thebais* in upper *Egypt* were alone of all the Egyptians free from taxes towards supporting the sacred animals, because they worshiped only the god Cneph; whom I suppose to be the same with Neph, as Ham was indifferently called Cham or Ham. And [t] Eusebius says from Philo-Byblius, that that idol under the figure of a serpent with the head of a hawk, which the Phœnicians called Agathodæmon or the good Dæmon, the Ægyptians called Cneph.

AND what proves this Cneph or Neph not to have been an imaginary idol, but a real man, who had been deified by some of his admirers for his great endowments, is that [u] Eusebius likewise says the Egyptians worshiped the god Cneph under the image of a king with a girdle about his waste and a sceptre in his hand, and an egg coming out of his mouth; which egg was looked upon as an emblem of the world. And [w] Strabo says that there was in an island adjoining to *Syene* the temple and Nilometre of the god

[t] Euseb. Præp. l. i. c. 10.

[u] Euseb. Præp. l. iii. c. 11.

[w] Strabo, p. 817.

Cneph; whom, according to the Greek termination of the word, he calls Cnuphis. Which Nilometre, or machine for measuring the increase of the *Nile*, shews that this god Cneph, Cnuphis, or Neph, had been some remarkable person living near *Syene*, who had been famous for the use of characteristic marks in his observations on the rise of the *Nile*. For, says Strabo, “ this Nilometre was a canal cut out of one entire stone
“ in the bank of the *Nile*, in which were engraven
“ several lines to denote the different encreases of the
“ *Nile*; to which were also added several characteristic
“ marks to denote upon certain days the future
“ encrease of the *Nile*: by observing which, persons
“ of skill were capable of forming certain presages of
“ the ensuing season; and to prognosticate, whether it
“ was likely to be fruitful or otherwise”.

Now that this god Cnuphis or Cneph was the same with the god Taautus or Thoth appears from hence; That it is universally acknowledged the god Thoth was the same deity which was also called Anubis. And that Anubis and Cnuphis were the same person seems to be manifest not only from the similitude of the words, but also because it appears, from several of the Abraxas, or Egyptian Talismans collected by [x] Montfaucon, that Anubis was originally written Cnuphis or Cnubis, for on several of those Abraxas, where a serpent is represented with a lion's head, on

[w] Mont. Ant. Tom. ii. Par. ii. p. 361.

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the reverse is the word XNOTBIC [*y*] Cnubis or Cnuphis, on others XNOTMIC Cnumis, and upon another both XNOTMIC and plain ANOTBIC Anubis. See the figures 1. 2. 3. in Plate ii.

AND what confirms this opinion is the great variety of emblematical figures under which the gods Cnuph and Thoth were characterized; all which seem plainly to have taken their origin from the Nilometre of the god Cnuphis near *Syene*. For since, as [*z*] Strabo expressly says, the Egyptian temples had no images in them, that is none of human form; but only those of some animal, substituted to denote the object of their worship; hence it was, that the various emblematical characters made use of by Cneph in his Nilometre furnished those persons, who out of regard to his memory were fond of worshipping him as a god after his death, with a variety of emblematical representations under which he might be adored. As for example, that of a serpent with a lion's head, of a serpent with a hawk's head, or that of a dog.

As to that famous emblem of a dog, under which this god Cnuphis, or, as Virgil calls him [*a*], *Latrator Anubis*, was worshiped, it is certain, that the brilliant star, which is known among astronomers by the

[*y*] The Greek *z*, when turn'd into Latin, was always changed into an U.

[*z*] Strabo, l. xvii.

[*a*] Virgil, *Æn.* l. viii. ver. 698.

name

name of the Dog-Star, and is one of the brightest in the whole firmament, becomes visible in *Egypt* in the month of July, about the time of year when it is agreed by all writers, the *Nile* generally begins to overflow its banks. This star is therefore called by Hesiod Σείριος Ἀστὴρ, i. e. Sihoris Aster, the star of the river *Sibor* or the *Nile*; *Sibor* being the name by which the river *Nile* was known in early times, as appears from Josh. xiii. 3. and Jerem. ii. 18. which name was probably given it on account of the dark colour of its waters at the time of its inundations, being derived from the Hebrew verb שחר *Shachar*, *niger fuit, denigratus est*, whence also it was called by the Greeks Μέλας. And hence Virgil speaking of this river says,

Et viridem Ægyptum nigra fecundat arena,
where Servius in his notes remarks, *nam antea Nilus MELO dicebatur*. And therefore this symbol of a dog might have been made use of by Neph in his Nilometre as a characteristic mark to denote the rise of this star, which gave them warning to prepare their grounds for being flooded by the *Nile*. Whence probably it obtained the name of the dog-star; and Neph might himself in after ages be worshiped under this symbol, and thence also obtain the name of Taautus or [b] Taaut, i. e. the dog.

AND as the dog might serve for an hieroglyphical mark in the Nilometre to denote the rise of that star,

[b] Hist. du Ciel.

and the time when the *Nile* should begin to overflow its banks, it is probable Cneph had different marks to denote the different degrees of its encrease both before and afterwards. And as when the *Nile* hath once overflowed its banks, it drives all the serpents before it out of their lurking places; so the hawks at the same season annually return into *Egypt* in quest of their prey. For [c] Eusebius observes, that these birds are very useful in *Egypt* in destroying the serpents, which he calls Κεράσαι Ceraſtæ, and were so [d] named from several islands of that name near *Syene* abounding with these animals. And [e] Plutarch says, that at *Hermopolis* there was an image of Typho represented by an hippopotamus, (a known emblem of the rise of the *Nile*) on which was a hawk fighting with a serpent. From the importance therefore of the periodical return of this bird, Cnuphis in his Nilometre may have made use of a compound mark of an hawk and a serpent to denote a particular degree of the increase of the *Nile*, and might therefore after his death have been worshiped under the emblematical character of a serpent with the head of a hawk. And hence also probably arose the tradition mentioned by Sanchoniatho, that Taautus, or the god Thoth, is said to have meditated very much on the nature of dragons and serpents; and that in after times the Phœnicians and E-

[c] Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ii. c. 1.

[d] Steph. Thesaur.

[e] De Isis et Osir.

gyptians on that account attributed a kind of divinity to these animals.

FOR the same reason this god Neph might also have been worshiped under the symbol of a serpent with a lion's head, because in the month of July the sun enters into the constellation of the lion, and therefore Cnuphis or Anubis or Neph might have applied this device of a serpent with a lion's head, as another symbol or hieroglyphical mark to denote the serpents quitting their holes, in consequence of the due increase of the *Nile* at the time when the sun enters into the sign of the lion.

As to that representation of the god Cneph which is mentioned by [f] Eusebius, in the similitude of an human shape with an egg coming out of his mouth, which egg was looked upon as an emblem of the world; Josephus informs us from Manetho, that although the Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans worshiped the images of men, yet they held the worship of brutes in great abhorrence. From hence as these got footing in *Egypt*, the Egyptian deities began to change their forms, and by a gradual transiſion and transformation, from beaſt to half beaſt and half man, came at laſt to be worshiped entirely in a human ſhape: To this we muſt aſcribe the original of thoſe motly deities Pan and the Satyrs: And hence the god Cnuphis or Anubis, from

[f] Euseb. Præp. l. vii. c. 11.

the figure of a dog under which emblem he was worshiped by the aborigines Egyptians, was worshiped by the Egyptio-Phœnicians in the shape of a man with a dog's head [g], and by the Phœnicians and Grecians who lived out of *Egypt* in the entire figure of a man. And to distinguish him from their other deities, they represented him either with an egg in his mouth, which was an emblem designed to denote his being the author of fertility; or else with naked and erect genitals, to denote the same prolifick quality. For [b] Plutarch gives this as the reason why the [i] Phallus was carried about in the Pammilian ceremonies; because it was the emblem of fertility and generation. And [k] Diodorus expressly says, that “not only the Egyptians, but many other people also paid a sacred regard to the parts of generation, as the instruments of the production of animals. That the priests also, when they take upon them their function in *Egypt*, are first initiated to the god Priapus. That for the same reason Pan and the Satyrs are worshiped: and that several set up their images in temples, to denote their generative properties”. For this reason undoubtedly it was that the gods Hermes and Priapus were imaged among the Greeks and Romans in so shameful an attitude.

[g] See Plate ii. fig. 7. from a coin of the emperor Julian.

[b] Plut. de Isid. and Osir.
of the human parts of generation.

[i] The Phallus was an image

[k] Diod. l. i. c. 4. see Euseb. Præp. l. ii. c. 2.

That

THAT Hermes or Thoth was represented in this manner by the Greeks, is testified by Pausanias in his *Eliaca*; and by Herodotus in his *Euterpe*, that the people of *Athens* learned from the Pelasgians so to represent Hermes. Of the same kind therefore I take that god to have been, which was worshiped by the [1] Moabites and Midianites, under the name of Baal-Peor, which words literally signify the *naked* or *shameless god*. And therefore the prophet [m] Hosea observes of the Israelites, that *they went to Baal Peor, and separated themselves unto that SHAME*. And Saint Paul, speaking of this defection of the Israelites, says [n], *neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed, and fell in one day three and twenty thousand*. And for this reason it probably was, that God gave particular directions, upon the conquest of the Moabites and Midianites, for destroying every [o] adult male and every woman who had known man; that women or even men, who had so far lost their shame and their modesty as to worship such a deity, might not further spread their abominations in the camp of *Israel*.

IT is observed by [p] Herodotus, that Melampus was the first who introduced the worship of the phallus into *Greece*, and that Melampus was instructed by Cadmus. It is therefore more than probable that Cadmus, who was a Canaanite, might have been taught this

[1] Num. xxv. 3, 5, 18. Deut. iv. 3.

[n] 1 Cor. x. 8.

[o] Num. xxxi. 17.

[m] Hof. ix. 10.

[p] Herod. l. ii.

object of worship by his neighbours the Moabites and Midianites; and that this was one reason why God was pleased to give such strict orders to the children of *Israel*, when they got possession of the land of *Canaan*, to dispossess the Canaanites, and not so much as to permit them to dwell among them, but to [q] *smite them, and utterly to destroy them and to make no covenant with them: and to drive out all the inhabitants of the land from before them, and to destroy all their pictures, and all their molten images, and to pluck down all their high places.*

WHY the name *Hermes* was in after ages given by the Grecians to the god *Cneph*, is easily accounted for; if we do but consider the importance of his observations by his *Nilometre*. As *Neph*, the father of the *Naphtuhim*, was only a great grandson of *Noah*, and as *Selah*, who was at the same distance of descent from *Noah*, lived to the age of 443 years, and to the 474th year after the flood; he may very well be supposed to live near three hundred years after his arrival in *Egypt*: during which time it is reasonable to believe, he was constantly improving his *Nilometre*, and adding to it various hieroglyphical marks of its use. And from the number of observations, which he had an opportunity of making in such a length of time, it might not be difficult for him to form such a judgment of the encrease of the *Nile*, as to know some weeks before hand, when it would begin to rise; and

[q] Deut. vii. 2. xii. 3. Num. xxxiii. 51. &c.

after

after it had risen for some time, whether it would exceed its usual bounds, or whether it would stop short of them, and not reach its common height. By foretelling which events he might easily get the reputation of being a prophet; or, in the language of the vulgar, a conjurer. And by being represented under this character to the Grecians, who came to visit *Egypt*, he might thence obtain from them the name of [r] *Hermes*, which signifies, *the interpreter* of the will of the gods.

So that this title of *Hermes Trismegistus*, which *Sanchoniatho* says, was given by the Grecians to the god *Taautus*, may very well be supposed to have taken its origin from the Nilometre of the god *Cneph*. To this also might be owing the tradition of his having invented letters, because he was the first who devised those symbolical characters which afterwards went under the name of Hieroglyphics. For [s] *Diodorus* observes that the art of hieroglyphical writing was first brought from *Æthiopia* into *Egypt*. And certain it is, that *Napata*, or the country of *Neph*, is that part of *Æthiopia* which borders upon *Egypt*. Which also may have laid the foundation of all those compliments paid to *Hermes* by the Grecian and Roman poets, on his being the founder and patron of polite arts and sciences.

[r] 'Από τῆς ἑρμηνείας, i. e. *ab interpretatione*. Vide *Virg. Æn. iv. 356.*
cum notis *Servii* in locum.

[s] *Diod. l. iii. c. 1.*

[*t*] EUSEBIUS observes that, besides all the various characters in which this deity has been already represented, the god Cneph was also pictured in the form of a king, with a girdle about his waste, a sceptre in his hand, and a plume of feathers on his head. This Πτερόν Βασίλειον, or royal plume, consisted of two large feathers placed erect on his head; some instances of which are to be seen in the Tabulæ Ifiacæ. (See Plate ii. fig. 5.) The Greeks by converting these feathers into wings, and changing his sceptre ornamented with serpents, which were the emblem of the god Cneph, into a caduceus, furnished their god Hermes with a new character, and made him the messenger, as well as the interpreter, of the gods.

[*u*] DIODORUS says that Hermes not only found out letters, but was also skilled in medicine and harmony, and invented the ten stringed lyre. Hence also it appears that from the history of the Egyptian Cneph, the Grecians borrowed the character of their god Apollo. Under which character when he was admitted back again into the Egyptian theology, he obtained the name of Orus, from the Hebrew word אור *Ore*, which signified *light*. For [*w*] Herodotus and Diodorus and Plutarch all agree, that the Orus of the Egyptians was the Apollo of the Greeks.

[*t*] Euseb. Præp. l. iii. c. 11. [*u*] Diod. l. i.

[*w*] Herod. l. ii. Diod. l. i. c. 2. Plut. de Isid et Osir.

Now this will enable us to account for that symbolical representation given us by [x] Montfaucon, of a dog holding between his paws the lyre of Apollo, and the caduceus of Mercury [y]. Which, he says, is one of those ænigmas he will not attempt to explain. But the device was designed only to shew that the author of it thought Orus, Anubis, and Hermes the same deity. For as the lyre was the undoubted symbol of Orus or Apollo, and the caduceus of Hermes or Mercury, so was the dog the known emblem of Anubis or Thoth. Whence, I apprehend, it is manifest that Neph, Anubis, Thoth, Hermes, and Orus, were originally all one and the same person, that is, the fifth son of Osiris, Ifiris, or Mizor, who was the son of Ham, the third son of Noah; who being the last of the long lived men that came with Ham into *Egypt*, is therefore said to have been the [z] last of the gods that reigned in *Egypt*.

FOR if we suppose Neph or Orus to have lived as long as Salah, who was of the same distance of descent from Noah, that is, his great-grand-son, then he would have lived 433 years, and to the 472d year after the flood; and would have been contemporary

[x] Canis quidem ille, qui lyram Apollinis, Mercuriique caduceum custodit, inter ænigmatica schemata censerì puto, quorum interpretationem ne tentare quidem ausing. Mont. Ant. Suppl. tom. i. l. iii. p. 100.

[y] See Plate ii. fig. 8.

[z] Herod. l. ii.

with

with Esau and Jacob, when the life of man was reduced to the term of 140 or 150 years at the furthest; in comparison of which the life of Neph or Orus must have been looked upon as a godlike one.

UPON the whole, it is manifest that though the Grecians borrowed their deities originally from *Egypt*, yet by the wrong pronounciation of their names, the misapplication of their qualities, and attributes, and by the mythological histories which they afterwards invented, they gave great occasion to the confusion which hath since ensued. The great number of hieroglyphical marks found on the sepulchral monuments of eminent persons, which were either expressive of their names, their qualifications, or their inventions, contributed to the same purpose; as these marks, from the veneration of the persons to whom they belonged, came in after ages to be held sacred, and in process of time to be worshiped.

FOR when the worship of the one God was once departed from, superstition would naturally look out for numberless local and tutelar deities to supply the place of infinite power. Hence it was the Egyptians gathered all these sacred characters together, and for fear of disobliging any one deity, made their collection as large as possible. For though particular deities might in particular places have an extraordinary degree of adoration paid to their most noted characteristic representation, yet the obelisk or temple
I
erected

erected to them, was all over inscribed with the rest of those characters which were held sacred ; as is visible to this day on the walls and pillars of the Egyptian temples. And that this was the original use which was made of the great number of hieroglyphic marks now found in those places of devotion as well as on the obelisks, and that they were not an historical account of the life and actions of any one particular person, is plain from that species of idolatry which the prophet [a] Ezekiel imputes to the Jews, when he describes one of their Cryptæ, of which sort there are many now remaining in *Egypt*. *And he said unto me, Go in and behold the wicked abominations, that they do here : so I went in and saw : And behold, every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, pourtrayed upon the walls round about. Then he said unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark, every man in the chamber of his imagery ?*

WHERE it is to be observed, that the walls of these chambers of their imagery were pourtrayed round about with *every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts* ; which shews that this superstition was borrowed from *Egypt*, and that the Israelites had added to it *all the idols of the house of Israel* ; the ceremonies of it were performed *in the dark*, as in the Egyptian Cryptæ, which are so called for that very reason, be-

[a] Ezek. viii. 9.—12.

cause they were dark, being derived from the Greek word *κεύπλω*, *abscondo*. So that every one of the Cryptæ was a sort of Pantheon, which held a collection of the emblems of all their gods, and had all their sacred characters collected together; at least as many as the Cryptæ could conveniently contain.

I COULD also wish that the person whom you think proper to send abroad would attempt to go into *Abyssinia*, and visit, if possible, the source of the *Nile*; which, I think, he might do by gentle degrees, if he could contrive to live for some time at or about *Syene*, on the borders between *Egypt* and *Æthiopia*. While he is there, he may try if he can find any traces of the Nilometre of Neph, as described by Strabo. And by making small excursions at first, and cultivating an acquaintance with some of the mercantile travellers going in and out of *Æthiopia*, I should think it not impossible for him to meet with some good natured person who would serve him both as an interpreter and guide.

BUT, Gentlemen, after all, though I have put these remarks together, that the person whom you employ may be excited and enabled by the help of them and such other observations as his own good sense shall dictate, to distinguish the several æras of the antiquities which he may meet with in and about *Egypt*; not only with regard to the hieroglyphical marks, in
which

which when he finds any human figures intermixed, he may be assured they are neither purely Egyptian nor of the earliest antiquity; but also with regard to those buildings, pillars or arches, which he may meet with in his travels, the several æras of which I think it would not be difficult for a curious observer to discover; yet I must own that the principal object I have in view is an exact description of the second stone of Moses, and a copy of those unknown characters which are to be found on the Mountains of *Mocatab* or the *Written mountains* in the promontory of *Mount Sinai*. If these inscriptions are real letters and words, though in a character at present lost and unknown, an alphabet may easily be formed from them, and the meaning of the words themselves probably discovered. And then who knows what may be the event?

THE books of Moses, with regard to early antiquity, are a *light that shineth in a dark place*: And indeed wonderful is the light which darts forth from them, whenever the enquirer crosseth it in his searches into the early ages of the world. Besides, as the truth of the Christian religion depends upon the veracity of the Jewish history, as delivered by Moses, any thing which may serve to corroborate or enlighten that history must be of service to the Christian revelation. And therefore as I look upon those two stones in the promontory of *Mount Sinai*, one of which has lain so many thousand years unnoticed by any traveller of consequence,

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to be an attestation of the truth of the books of Moses
litterally written by the finger of God, I do not con-
sider this proposal barely as a matter of curiosity, but
as an enquiry which may be of great and real service to
religion; and on that account hope you will look with
the more favourable eye on this address from,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient

humble servant

ROBERT *Clogher*.

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F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

- Page 12. Line 9. for *Chastherine* read *Catharine*.
 17. penult. after white add a colon.
 60. 10. for *Peleusian* read *Pelufian*.
 90. 17. for *Pelufium* read *Pelufium*.
 109. 16. dele likewise.



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